Men, Masculinities and the Modern Career: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives

Aavik, Kadri (Ed.); Bland, Clarice (Ed.); Hoegaerts, Josephine (Ed.); Salminen, Janne (Ed.)

Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version
Sammelwerk / collection

Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:
Aavik, K., Bland, C., Hoegaerts, J., & Salminen, J. (Eds.). (2020). *Men, Masculinities and the Modern Career: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*. Berlin: De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874

Men, Masculinities and the Modern Career

Men, Masculinities and the Modern Career

Contemporary and Historical Perspectives

Edited by
Kadri Aavik, Clarice Bland, Josephine Hoegaerts,
and Janne Salminen

DE GRUYTER
OLDENBOURG

The Open Access book is available at www.degruyter.com
Funded by the European Research Council (CALLIOPE ERC StG 2017) and by the Helsinki University 'Future Fund'.

ISBN 978-3-11-064734-1
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-065187-4
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-064786-0
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020939275

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

Cover image: okeyphotos/E+/Getty Images
Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Contents

III Self-representations of the (In)competent Working Man

IV Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives on Men, Masculinities, and Career(s)

Kadri Aavik, Josephine Hoegaerts, Janne Salminen

Introduction: Why Men, Masculinities and Career(s)?

Glass ceilings, the gender pay gap, leaky pipelines, old boy networks, calls for women to lean in – the seemingly never-ending deluge of reports of workplace inequalities and sexual harassment suggests that men's homosocial networks are alive and well and an enduring norm in twenty-first century work cultures. Recent critical representations and examinations of the workplace leave little doubt about the fact that stale gender norms and conventions still prevail. After the #MeToo movement rocked Hollywood and the (Western) world, critical voices against harassment of women in the workplace spread globally (most notably perhaps Bollywood and the Indian media industry). Similarly, the #KuToo movement (after *kutsu*, and *kutsū*, denoting shoes and pain respectively) made waves in the Japanese media, drawing attention to the sartorial restrictions placed on women's presence in the workplace.

Despite increasing numbers of women entering the global workforce since the 1980s, the most lucrative careers, especially in the private sector, still primarily seem to be more easily accessible to men (Moghadam 1999). Scholars have pointed towards intrinsically gendered practices and power-imbalances as characteristics of many modern workplaces for decades. A more analytical approach to men's and women's 'place' in the context of work is (re)gaining momentum outside research circles as well. While noting that workplaces and organisations remain largely implicitly masculine is politically pertinent, it does little to elucidate how masculinity and careers are linked, how workers do masculinity and how masculinity does cultural work for the reproduction and/or contestation of (post)industrialism, capitalism and neoliberalism.

This book focuses on the multiple and diverse masculinities 'at work' in the processes of professionalisation and career management that typify modern working life. Spanning both historical approaches to the rise of 'profession' as a marker of masculinity, and critical approaches to the current structures of management, employment, and workplace hierarchies, we set out to question what role men and masculinities play in cultural understandings, affective experiences, and mediatised representations of a professional 'career'. The collection contributes to understanding a range of men's practices and masculinities associated with work and careers as well as the diversity of social, cultural, and professional contexts in which they take shape.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-001

Understandings of the modern workplace, jobs and careers have been based on an 'industrial' separation of spheres relegating women to the hearth while leaving men the freedom to move between the domestic and public (Tosh 1999) and on gendered narratives of entrepreneurship and social climbing mired in aggression (Tjeder 2002). They have therefore been culturally, discursively and indeed legally coded as masculine and have included an implicit masculine embodiment of 'work' (McGinley 2016; Acker 1990). Whilst careers and work remain strongly linked to masculinity, this connection is no longer considered to be absolute and has recently been challenged in critical research, media and by everyday practice.

This book aims to contribute to critical scholarly approaches to gender and work, by focusing on men and masculinities in the context of career(s). The book gathers different disciplinary and theoretical perspectives, and draws from diverse social, cultural, historical and geographical settings, demonstrating that men's practices and masculinities are not only intrinsically heterogeneous and subject to change, but that gendered careers are equally diverse and defined by their context as well. Indeed, careers unfold in settings that we sometimes do not consider workplaces in a typical sense – such as in sports or arts. Such careers are also examined in this book.

As contributors hail from different disciplines within the social sciences and humanities, their vocabularies and perspectives in approaching men, masculinities and careers are somewhat divergent by necessity – they often echo the particular geographical, cultural or historical contexts studied, as well as disciplinary conventions and methodological approaches. However, in all disciplines represented in this book (from art history and anthropology to the study of education and sports, to history and sociology) the critical study of men and masculinities has become a legitimate and (somewhat) established field of research. The authors therefore draw on a largely shared analytical toolbox through which masculinities are understood as performative as well as discursively constructed; analysed as multiple political, affective and embodied practices rather than as a unified 'norm'; and as changeable and fluid articulations of self rather than as a rigid category of identity. Juxtaposing contemporary and historical contexts as well as different geopolitical ones is particularly helpful in demonstrating this fluidity and heterogeneity, as it explicitly confronts us with instances of substantial difference and change.

In many ways, the current volume presents an attempt to continue a conversation that started quite modestly in 2018, as an exchange of ideas between three scholars of men and masculinities working in gender studies and sociology (Kadri Aavik), media studies (Janne Salminen), and history (Josephine Hoegaerts). This exchange expanded, first, into a workshop at the University of Helsinki in 2018 – facilitating discussions across different geo-political contexts, disciplines as well

as across different types of workspaces and careers. One of the results of this workshop, and one we hope to share through this book, was the realisation that truly comparative, collaborative and critical work (drawing on either more than one discipline, or covering several cultural contexts) on men and masculinities would require a much more sustained effort to listen and read beyond one's own specialisation. Despite the aforementioned shared analytical toolbox, it has become increasingly difficult to remain aware of the state of the art of the study of men and masculinities in more than one (sub)discipline. Consequently, the final section of this book presents three more synthetic overviews of the work that has been done on men, masculinities and career(s)/work, and the methodological frameworks available to sociologists and historians, in particular, in order to facilitate entry into 'different' disciplinary approaches to the field. Apart from showing to what extent sociological, anthropological and historical approaches to the study of men and masculinities have started to diverge since the 1990s, these and other chapters in the book also show, we believe, how necessary a continued conversation between the study of different contemporary and historical masculinities is to fully account for the changeable, culturally dependent, and constructed nature of gendered embodiments of the modern career. This is perhaps most noticeable when juxtaposing chapters analysing different cultural contexts – men's practices of taking care of one's self in a professional context differ greatly between the Nordics and Korea, for example. It also emerges from the different ways in which the industrial revolution – itself a thoroughly 'Western' anchor point for modernity and the modern workplace – is accounted for in numerous chapters, or from the divergent trajectory the 'separate spheres' model has taken in sociology and history.

Whilst critical studies of men and masculinities has become an established field of inquiry (as demonstrated in the more reflective or theoretical contributions in the last section of this book), the study of modern careers and their gendered trajectories cannot be quite so clearly delineated as a field. The chapters in this volume are therefore breaking new ground by elucidating the connection between various iterations of the modern 'man' and those of what we can consider as the modern career.

One of the starting points of compiling this volume was the observation that whilst there already exists an extensive body of literature on men, masculinities and work, including from critical perspectives, much less has been written explicitly about career(s) in this context. It is even more rare to encounter scholarship (from critical perspectives) on careers focusing specifically on men ("naming them as men", Hearn 2004, 50) and masculinities. Yet, it is important to distinguish what is specific about the idea of career and how this relates to

modern men and masculinities. Teasing out these specificities and drawing these connections helps us to better understand and contest gender and other intersecting inequalities that emerge in this context.

Men, Masculinities and Career(s): Some Conceptual Insights

The notion of 'career' draws attention to specific aspects of people's relationship to work and their participation in workplaces and spaces. When talking about career(s), we typically refer to a sequence of jobs or work spanning over a long time, perhaps even a lifetime. Careers thus "involve time and movement" – "movement within one given organisation or occupation, or it can be between and across different organisations and occupations" over time (Hearn 2020, 262). Yet, as Jeff Hearn points out in his Afterword to this volume, careers are not necessarily always only about work – they may unfold in domains not typically associated with work, such as criminality or therapy (Hearn 2020, 262). While this volume primarily deals with careers more commonly associated with work, it also pays some attention to activities in social settings that are usually not perceived as work, thereby highlighting the fluidity of the category of 'work' itself, demonstrating that what is recognised as profession or leisure has changed over time, and is dependent on cultural context.

Often implicit in the idea of career is its association with certain elite and middle-class occupations or pursuits. Professions that are now understood as accommodating careers largely grew out of what used to be leisurely pursuits for the wealthy (careers in academic research are a clear example of the professionalisation of what used to be a gentlemanly hobby). Working-class jobs are not typically talked about through this notion. (Neither do upper-class lives tally with the notion of the career ladder, which implies having to start somewhere on its lower rungs). In this sense, 'career' is a rather exclusive concept that carries some tacit assumptions about class.

Similarly, the idea of career also links to men and masculinities in explicit as well as in more implicit ways. Just as the notion of work is gendered, as demonstrated by feminist scholars on work and organisations (see Acker 1990), the concept of career also contains tacit assumptions and outcomes regarding gender, as well as race and class (Hearn 2020, 263).

One way in which this becomes evident is to consider what constitutes a career and where careers unfold. What we consider a career typically takes place in the public sphere – a social arena which has historically been and

continues to be associated with men's practices and masculine values and norms. Many activities that people perform in the public sphere can be conceptualised as elements of and contributions to their careers. Because of men's traditionally greater access to and involvement in the public sphere, their activities in this arena are often regarded as part of their careers and as such help them to maintain and increase their social and political power. In contrast, care work, reproductive labour and many other undertakings pursued in the domestic arena, recognised as essential forms of work by feminist scholars and still typically associated with and performed by women, are not usually thought of in the framework of career.

Another key way in which the concept of career relates to men and masculinities is through its strong connotations with progression and upward mobility. A career assumes or could even be equated with a movement towards (more) success in the context of work. This may manifest itself in a gradual increase in income and/or status. Unsurprisingly, the idea of the career arose in the nineteenth century along with a socially mobile middle class who – in a newly democratised world – managed to accumulate enough money to be able to purchase, rather than having to perform, labour. Founding and expanding one's own business, in the industrial age, would increasingly become the kind of long-term project many could aspire to (even if few would have access to its realities). Like 'self-help' (Smiles 1859), the image of the self-made man was connected to ideas of economic 'growth' as well as personal progress – thus allowing middle-class men to imagine their lives as intimately connected to their work, and to imagine both as a linear progression of 'steps' toward a higher goal. As industrial companies expanded, and public institutions gained importance, this image of the accumulation of success (rather than the performance of labour) would come to be associated with 'masculinity' particularly for the growing class of clerical workers (Creese 2014). The expansion of the availability of careers is reflected even in the use of the word 'career' itself, which used to denote one's path through life in a general sense. Only modern individuals – for whom work- and life-goals have become deeply interwoven – think of careers as a matter of 'work', or indeed as a matter of competition. It is no coincidence, perhaps, that the image of career progression bears little resemblance to what working meant to the large majority of people for most of history (cyclical farm labour, repetitive domestic work, seasonal occupations), but seems to mimic the military model of 'progression' towards leadership for the happy few. Leading other men into battle, incidentally, is another example of a gentlemanly pursuit that was professionalised relatively recently.

Crucially, successful careers offer cumulative advantages to those who pursue them. The impact of this cumulative success is not only confined to the labour market but also reaches to other spheres of life and affects one's quality of life in older age. These insights are relevant especially in the context of

men, masculinities and social inequalities. Numerous studies have demonstrated that work and careers in sectors dominated by men are more financially rewarding (for an overview, see Reskin and Bielby 2005) in contrast to those performed by women. Compared to women, men's career progress is faster, as they are promoted more quickly (Budig 2001; Pergamit and Veum 1999), particularly in sectors and organisations overwhelmingly populated by women – known as the 'glass escalator' effect (Williams 1992). These inequalities persist and are even exacerbated in the era of neoliberalisation where the broader social context in which work is performed and careers unfold, is changing profoundly. The neoliberal ideology is restructuring jobs, workplaces and careers (see, for example, Williams 2013; Moore and Robinson 2016; Crowley and Hodson 2014) and we are witnessing the emergence of new forms of work and jobs. In this context, the idea of career also assumes new meanings. Yet inequality remains a central element in the agenda of neoliberalisation (Connell 2013; Lazzarato 2009). These new developments, such as the introduction of more 'flexibility' to jobs and careers, which more often than not disguises increasingly precarious work, benefit first and foremost those who are already privileged – such as white middle- and upper-class Western men.

Additionally, success in the arena of work has been and still is an important source of self-validation for most men. Indeed, participation in paid work continues to be a key part of hegemonic masculinity and is often taken for granted. Failure to pursue a career or to progress on a career path can imply failure in doing masculinity, including for men themselves. For example, if a man's primary activities in life are confined to the private sphere and cannot, according to conventional understandings, be seen as progression towards more 'success' (in terms of prestige, income etc.) in the public arena, this can have serious adverse impact on his (sense of) masculinity. Because such judgements stem from traditional meanings associated with the categories of 'man' and 'career' and their intersections, it makes sense to approach these notions critically.

In contemporary feminist scholarship as well as in critical studies of men and masculinities, most scholars agree that in order to understand gender it is insufficient to focus solely on this category as people's experiences and identities are simultaneously shaped by and constituted through other social divisions. Thus, intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989) – the idea that categories such as gender, race, class interact "in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies" and that these interactions have consequences in terms of power (Davis 2008, 68) – has become a central paradigm to understand gender and gender relations in contemporary feminist research. In the context of work and careers, this has for example meant applying intersectionality as an analytical framework to understand phenomena such as

inequality regimes in organisations (Acker 2006) and the glass escalator (Williams 2013), allowing a more complex analysis of these. This suggests that to understand men, masculinities and careers in more nuanced ways it is necessary to consider how gender intersects with other relevant social categories. Several chapters in this book align with this idea and consider how gender intersects with other social divisions, such as race/ethnicity, sexuality, class and religion, in the context of men's careers.

These insights suggest that gender-based and other inequalities in contemporary societies are linked to men, masculinities and careers in important ways. This volume seeks to challenge some implicit assumptions that we hold about men and masculinities in the context of careers. Authors in this collection conceptualise 'career' and its relationship to men and masculinities in diverse ways, stemming from their own disciplinary backgrounds and the particular (social, cultural and geopolitical) context of their research. In addition, the chapters offer a variety of theories regarding the relationship of career(s) to work. Altogether, it is our hope that these contributions enrich and further our empirical and theoretical knowledge on men, masculinities and career(s).

This Volume: Overview

The collection is divided into four sections.

I Men, Care and Careers: Self-care, 'Caring' Roles and Occupations

The first section of the book addresses how men negotiate the clash of career expectations with everyday experiences of working life in Finland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The authors explore how men negotiate their career aspirations with other aspects of their lives, and how career norms for men can negate father-friendly policies. The section features men who abandon careers in favour of family and other pursuits, thereby challenging traditional narratives of work-centred masculinities.

In his empirical study, Henri Hyvönen examines how work-related self-care connects to the changing expectations of Finnish working life. In exploring how and why men practice self-care in the context of careers and work, Hyvönen teases out a recurrent theme of men not seeing career as a means of self-actualisation, but rather as a duty. Within this context, men practice self-care

with the aim of achieving personal wellbeing. Hyvönen demonstrates how they maintained a critical stance towards prevalent discourses of work-related self-care which encourage self-care as a means of enhancing work performance.

Ingrid Biese's chapter goes further than reconceptualising the link between men and career(s) by disrupting it altogether – she examines men who abandon careers in favour of nurturing relationships with loved ones. Drawing from interviews conducted in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Finland, Biese suggests that mainstream career models are outdated in describing desired careers or the lives of professionals and their career patterns. Biese's chapter outlines how disenchantment with corporate ideals and expectations have led men to seek a sense of coherence and authenticity from opting out of work life and focusing on relationships with their loved ones.

The next chapter zooms in on a 'feminised' field of work, and the incongruity of men's career paths within it. In "Those Who Can't, Teach: Representations and Challenges of Male Teachers" Cathy Leogrande argues that as late as immediately after the Second World War, schools in the United States were increasingly staffed by men, especially in science and mathematics. However, today male teachers are clearly in the minority and teaching is largely not considered a viable career path for men. Leogrande suggests that representations of teachers in popular culture, particularly television and film, have a central role in how male teachers and their career choices are perceived, either supporting or challenging the idea of teaching as a 'lesser' career path for men.

II Male-dominated Careers and Work Spaces

In this section, creative spaces in the 1960s, law offices, and football fields in the 2010s are examined as sites where men's careers unfold, while also observing ongoing changes that are taking place in these contexts. The chapters in this section not only show how constructions of masculinity and career can be closely intertwined, but also demonstrate the diversity of both masculinities and careers by focusing on these particular contexts – which each have their own cultures and politics of gender and work.

One might be prone to think that an enormously influential artist such as Andy Warhol might be thoroughly dissected by now, but Gilad Reich examines Warhol's performance as a professional artist as a mode of specific artistic masculinity and in doing so finds a new avenue in understanding the cultural significance of Warhol. Reich notes that this mode was in contrast to the previous model of hegemonic artistic masculinity, such as the macho masculinity of

Jackson Pollock, as Warhol adopted a softer more managerial attitude towards his art and community that was organised around his 'Factory' during the formative years of his career in the mid-1960s.

Marta Choroszewicz shifts our attention from the managerial strategies of artists to the soft skills of lawyers in Quebec and Finland. She provides compelling evidence of how masculine ideals are reproduced through network-based and gendered soft skills such as care orientation and the ability to manage emotions, which then reflect on career progressions within the field of private law. Powerful older men mediate skills seen as necessary for career advancements. As they hold traditional views on family and gender, this then reflects negatively on the careers of women. Choroszewicz notes that this reinforces gender-imbalance in a mentor-driven work ecosystem, which is already male-dominated. Her findings illuminate an under-researched aspect of the emotional aspects of professional identities and careers.

In "Athletic Migrant Religiosities and the Making of 'Respectable Men'", José Hildo De Oliveira Filho examines men and masculinities at the intersection of sports and religion, drawing on interviews with professional athletes: Brazilian football and futsal players who have migrated to the Czech Republic, Russia, Israel, Lebanon, and Austria. The athletes actively use religious symbolism to justify their physically demanding, and occasionally damaging, sports careers. Filho detects emerging narratives of sacrifice and a striving need for respectability within this group of highly skilled migrant labourers.

III Self-representations of the (In)competent Working Man

Performing a type of masculinity that conforms to the expectations of the surrounding business culture is not only a matter of looks but also a question of how a narrative of self is constructed to align with the requirements of a proper businessman (emphasis on *man*). Preferred modes of masculinity are maintained through homosocial gazes and grooming, while workplace bonding can occasionally happen through shared sexual experiences. The third section of the book focuses on these themes in Finland in the nineteenth century, and in modern Seoul and Northern Thailand.

Drawing on interviews with 15 men located in the metropolitan area of Seoul, Joanna Elfving-Hwang examines what kind of a role grooming and self-presentation play when performing competence and organisational power within a workplace environment. One of the key themes is how the interviewees reflect upon their dress codes and how that is linked to performing heterosexual masculinity. Elfving-Hwang discovers the workplace as a site in which masculine bodies are produced

for the homosocial gaze and how the men self-police themselves through internalised ideologies of competency and power. Narratives of self-made businessmen have often centred on their successes and have organised around masculinities that border on the heroic.

Ulla Ijäs offers a different take on the masculinity of a businessman in a close reading of Friedrich Wilhelm Klingender's memoirs from the 1830s. Klingender, a German bookkeeper stationed in Finland and employed in the global timber industry was unable to be socially upwardly mobile, thus failing to 'make it like a man'. Ijäs examines the bitter stories of Klingender and contemplates if these life stories can be seen as career narratives and how these narratives contain intersecting layers of power and overlapping inequalities.

In Northern Thailand, visiting prostitutes with male peers has historically been a workgroup bonding technique and is considered to be an unremarkable aspect of male professional careers. Cassie DeFilippo draws on ethnographic fieldwork to parse out the way frequenting sex-workers is part of negotiating workplace masculinities and men's careers and how this practice impacts male and female workers. DeFilippo notes that maintaining this 'tradition' also perpetuates glass ceilings for women and generates homosocial environments in which objectification of women is considered to be the norm.

IV Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives on Men, Masculinities, and Career(s)

The final section of this book engages with some theoretically and methodologically relevant issues in studying men and masculinities in the context of career(s) from critical perspectives.

Tristan Bridges, Catherine Taylor and Sekani Robinson offer conceptual insights into the connections between men, masculinities and careers and how this relationship links with gender inequality in contemporary societies. The authors highlight four culturally and historically persistent ways in which masculinity, work and careers are tied: occupational sex segregation, the 'breadwinner' ideal, cultural devaluation of femininity and 'masculinity contest cultures' at work. They argue that these four dimensions help explain the persistence of gender inequality.

In her chapter titled "Studying Privileged Men's Career Narratives from an Intersectional Perspective: The Methodological Challenge of the Invisibility of Privilege", Kadri Aavik discusses a particular methodological difficulty, based on her previous empirical work, in studying men's career narratives – the invisibility of privilege in these accounts. In this context, she outlines some limitations of an

intersectional narrative approach to studying the career paths and lives of the privileged and proposes some potential ways to tackle this problem.

Josephine Hoegaerts, finally, examines the different ways in which historical research has engaged with the critical study of men and masculinities, and suggests some avenues to think through the connections between the rise of 'modern' masculinity and the rise of professionalisation and the 'modern' career in the long nineteenth century. Whilst such a historical vantage point shows that the past is indeed 'a foreign country' in which contemporary categories cannot be taken for granted, it also draws attention to the multiple ways in which current understandings of masculinity, work and their seemingly intrinsic connection are the result of long-term processes of cultural, political and social change, and thus embedded in the past.

Afterword

In his afterword, Jeff Hearn, drawing on his own long-time critical engagement with questions of men, masculinities, work and career(s), particularly in the context of management, offers theoretical insights into the key concepts of this book: men, masculinities and careers. He provides a useful overview of how critical studies of men and masculinities have engaged with the notion of career, and outlines some key ways in which career(s) relate to work. Hearn then comments on the chapters in this volume, outlining its strengths as well as drawing attention to some limitations of the collection. He ends by raising some intriguing questions about what careers might look like in the future, and the gendered implications of these potential developments, particularly for men and masculinities.

References

Acker, Joan. 1990. "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies. A Theory of Gendered Organization", *Gender and Society* 4(2): 139–158.

Acker, Joan. 2006. Inequality Regimes Gender, Class and Race in Organizations. *Gender & Society* 20(4): 441–464.

Budig, Michelle J. and Paula England. 2001. "The Wage Penalty for Motherhood." *American Sociological Review* 66(2): 204–225.

Connell, Raewyn. 2013. "Why do market 'reforms' persistently increase inequality?" *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 34(2): 279–285.

Creese, Gillian. 2014. *Contracting Masculinity: Gender, Class, and Race in a White-Collar Union, 1944–1994*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1989. “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics.” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140: 139–167.

Crowley, Martha and Randy Hodson. 2014. “Neoliberalism at Work.” *Social Currents* 1(1): 91–108.

Davis, Kathy. 2008. “Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful.” *Feminist Theory* 9(1): 67–85.

Hearn, Jeff. 2004. “From hegemonic masculinity to the hegemony of men.” *Feminist Theory* 5(1): 49–72.

Hearn, Jeff. 2020. “Afterword: Men, Masculinities, Careers and Careering.” In *Men, Masculinities and the Modern Career: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*, edited by Kadri Aavik, Clarice Bland, Josephine Hoegaerts, and Janne Salminen, 261–271. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Lazzarato, Maurizio. 2009. “Neoliberalism in Action: Inequality, Insecurity and the Reconstitution of the Social.” *Theory, Culture & Society* 26(6): 109–133.

McGinley, Ann. 2016. *Masculinity at Work: Employment Discrimination through a Different Lens*. New York: New York University Press.

Moghadam, Valentine M. 1999. “Gender and the Global Economy.” In *Revisioning Gender*, edited by Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber, and Beth B. Heiss, 128–160. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Moore, Phoebe, and Andrew Robinson. 2016. “The quantified self: What counts in the neoliberal workplace.” *New Media & Society* 18(11): 2774–2792.

Pergamit, Michael R. and Jonathan R. Veum. 1999. “What is a Promotion?” *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 52(4): 581–601.

Reskin, Barbara F., and Denise D. Bielby. 2005. “A Sociological Perspective on Gender and Career Outcomes.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19(1): 71–86.

Smiles, Samuel. 1859. *Self-Help, with Illustrations of Character and Conduct*. London: John Murray.

Tjeder, David. 2002. “When Character Became Capital: The Advent of the Self-Made Man in Sweden, 1850–1900.” *Men and Masculinities* 5(1): 53–79.

Tosh, John. 1999. *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Williams, Christine. 1992. The Glass Escalator: Hidden Advantages for Men in the Female Professions. *Social Problems* 39(3): 253–267.

Williams, Christine. 2013. The glass escalator, revisited: Gender inequality in neoliberal times, SWS feminist lecturer. *Gender & Society* 27(5): 609–629.

I Men, Care and Careers: Self-care, 'Caring' Roles and Occupations

Henri Hyvönen

1 Care for the Self – But Not for the Career? Men's Perceptions of Work-related Self-care

Abstract: Research into men's health has found that the potential conflict between health awareness and masculinity centred on paid work has been replaced by men's understanding of health as a competitive edge in working life. In contemporary organisations, being healthy, demonstrating high performance and expressing a willingness to participate in workplace health promotion voluntarily promote one's career. This chapter describes men's agentive encounters with health-related social expectations in Finnish working life. The study focuses on how and why men care for their health in the context of work. The material consists of 18 interviews of men concerning work-related self-care. The study shows that the most prevalent aim of self-care was personal wellbeing, understood as a situation in which most areas of life are enjoyable in a sustained way. To this end, the men co-opted disciplined practices that aimed to change or maintain certain qualities of the body and mind. However, this goal of personal wellbeing was supplemented by an aspiration for a balance between work and non-work. The majority of participants felt that self-care was addressed repeatedly in both the workplace and in the media. When participants co-opted recommended practices, this was done critically and for the sake of personal benefit. Thus, the study shows how men practice resistance when they navigate expectations surrounding working life. Concurrently, the participants perceived masculinity as more broadly defined and less binding than before. Besides contributing empirical data to the literature on men's health, this chapter challenges men and masculinity scholars to focus their analytical gaze on men's agency.

Introduction

Industrialisation, the emergence of the wage-labourer class and the entry of women into the labour market took place in Finland late, compared with other Western European countries (Hannikainen and Heikkinen 2006). Until the 1970s, the workforce that consisted mainly of men earned a living largely through the extraction and collection of natural resources as well as manufacturing and construction (Hannikainen and Heikkinen 2006; Turtiainen and Väänänen 2012). At

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-002

the time, Finnish working life constituted a 'field of glory' for men: men's honour was built on visual signs of diligence and success in work that made a visible impact on the external world. In this sociocultural context, externally detectable health issues caused by work were not just understood as a social problem. Instead, indifference towards one's health offered a means for men's positive self-identification with idealised masculinity (Kortteinen 1992, 47; Pietilä 2008, 149). The careers that were available to most men in agrarian Finland and during industrialisation in the post-World War Two era did not offer extensive opportunities for advancement. However, uninterrupted and prolonged devotion to a single field of work fulfilled the expectations put on men during post-war nation-building efforts (Siltala 1994, 153; Turtiainen and Väänänen 2012). Survival despite adversity, rather than personal success or happiness, was respected.

Recent studies on men and masculinities in Western countries indicate a transition towards a wider societal criticism of conventional masculinities and a willingness by men to choose life courses that differ from these conventional models (Bridges and Pascoe 2014). In late modern societies, work is no longer the only or even the most important route to self-esteem-enhancing self-identification for men. Eerola (2015) argues that men in Finland are distancing themselves from the male breadwinner model and moving closer to the intimate and emotional core of the family. Widespread gender equality discourse in the Nordic countries, a geographical and cultural region in Northern Europe which includes Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, is destabilising men's faith in traditional ways of being a man and showing them alternatives (Jóhannsdóttir and Gíslason 2018). Thus, abandoning what Biese (2017) terms prevalent masculinist notions about careers, such as linearity and continuous upward progression in organisations, also becomes possible for men.

Concurrently, individual health has turned into an increasingly topical subject in working life. This manifests itself in both informal organisational discourse in which bodies signalling unhealthy lifestyles are increasingly stigmatised (Amsterdam and Eck 2019; Huzell and Larsson 2012), as well as in the rise of formal workplace health promotion that involves physical exercise programmes, nutrition assessments and mental wellbeing screening (Cederström and Spicer 2015; Dailey, Burke and Carberry 2018; James and Zoller 2018). Although the presence of workplace health promotion is apparently justified by its indubitable benefits for both employers and employees in the form of increased stamina, productivity and personal wellbeing (James and Zoller 2018), doing visible work on one's own health is also widely perceived by employers as a way of expressing professionalism, loyalty to the organisation and commitment to the work (Amsterdam and Eck 2019; Cederström and Spicer 2015; Kelly, Allender and Colquhoun 2007; Meriläinen, Tienari and Valtonen 2015). Therefore, this development contributes

not only to the repertoire of practices that prolong and boost working life but also to the possibilities of climbing up the career ladder. Increased discussion on health in organisations implies a change in the health behaviour of men in their pursuit of career advancement: here self-reliance is replaced by self-management (Connell and Wood 2005, 355; Riach and Cutcher 2014).

However, men's explicit criticism of masculinities centred on paid work may also result in resistance to organisational health discourses. Health discourses in working life, when viewed as a visible form of organisational power distinct from work assignments, can form a site of resistance to the organisation's power over employees (James and Zoller 2018). Concern for one's own wellbeing can also constitute a struggle to survive under conditions of increasing expectations at work or troubling power relations in the workplace (Amsterdam and Eck 2019).

In line with earlier research (Bressi and Vaden 2017; Kelly, Allender and Colquhoun 2007), I define work-related self-care as practices in which an individual scrutinises themselves and decides intentionally to affect his or her mental or physical health and wellbeing in order to resolve current or anticipated problems in working life. Thus, self-care is twofold, including both practices that aim to increase work performance as well as practices that aim to modify the pace and content of work in order to achieve personal wellbeing. In this chapter I draw from evidence of the increased instability of masculinities to rethink men's health and wellbeing in working life. I put forward two research questions: How do men care for themselves in the context of work and careers and with what goals? How do men experience the surrounding norms to limit and enable their self-care and how do they react to such norms? Echoing Taylor (2009), I understand norms as codes of conduct that individuals perceive as conventional or binding and as subject to either conformity or resistance. In this chapter I focus on norms relating to masculinity as well as norms related to success in the labour market and in a particular workplace. A qualitative design is pursued using empirical data gathered from 18 semi-structured one-to-one interviews. The data was collected with the aim of including men from different socioeconomic backgrounds based in Greater Helsinki, Finland.

I argue that participants aimed for both sufficient performance at work and a meaningful personal life by taking care of their health through exercise, diet modification and rest, as well as restricting the time and personal resources allocated to work. In order to achieve personal wellbeing, participants sometimes resisted external models of self-care that they felt conflicted with their personal life goals unrelated to work. However, participants felt that the surrounding norms of masculinity did not prevent them from pursuing such a balance. Previous research has focused on how complying with the ideal of health has become part of dominant masculinity in working life. These studies have somewhat

ignored socioeconomic differences between men, as they have focused on men who pursue an ascending career path in knowledge-intensive work. The present study contributes to this discussion by showing that there are working life contexts and localities in which dominant masculinities centred on competition are perceived by men but do not constitute a meaningful goal for them. Men in Finnish working life expressed attitudes that do not connect self-care to organisational discourses or hierarchies between men but on personal wellbeing instead.

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows. I begin with a brief discussion of men's agency against the background of Finnish society. Thereafter, I discuss the study's data and methods. There are four subsections illustrating the findings. I end with a summarising discussion and conclusions.

Co-optation and Resistance: Towards Agency in Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities

Recent discussions in critical studies on men and masculinities have focused on the rapid change in expectations concerning men and the consequences of these changes on the behaviour and gender performances of men in, for example, workplaces. In these discussions, the concept of hegemonic masculinity, defined as a way of being a man that is both culturally exalted and complied with by the majority of men (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), has been found to be insufficient. As an outcome, new masculinities, such as "hybrid masculinity", defined as "men's selective incorporation of performances and identity elements associated with marginalised and subordinated masculinities and femininities" (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 246) that is performed due to the devaluation of "hegemonic capital" (253) have been constituted to explain men's behaviour. In the context of men's health, Pietilä (2008) outlines "today's hegemonic masculinity" (9) to describe men's increasing interest in health issues and their willingness to renegotiate gendered meanings related to health in Finnish society.

Previously, the unity, stasis and influence of hegemonic masculinities have often been exaggerated in order to understand men's health behaviour (Matthews 2016; Robertson, Williams and Oliffe 2016). Waling (2019) argues that although hegemonic masculinity and its derivatives successfully describe societal power relations between different groups of men and women, this theoretical tradition does not illuminate men's agentive and affective encounters with gendered expectations. Categorical analyses have shortcomings as regards both men's lived experiences (Berggren 2014; Hearn 2012, 311) and men's agency and emotional reflexivity, understood as the capacity for one to act in a particular environment

that consists of a variety of constraints and relations of power without reproducing pre-existing models of masculinity (Petersen 1998, 117; Waling 2019). Rather than abandoning masculinity as an explanatory framework, its critics aim to moderate its explanatory power. For example, in some social contexts, health may arise as a more valuable social achievement than being recognised as a 'real' man (Farrimond 2012).

Heyes argues that an analysis of self-care should always presume the agency of individuals. In my analysis I draw from her conception of self-care as "co-optation and resistance" (Heyes 2007, 85). This notion refers to a wide range of mutually conflicting self-care practices based on diverse conceptions of healthiness available in Western societies, from which individuals choose their modes of operation. This choice happens in a particular environment, where subordination to norms set by other people can also lead to pleasures and benefits despite the potentially painful nature of the process. Crocket (2017) fortifies this argument by pointing out that separating self-care as "critical self-awareness" (35–36) from docility to external ideals questions the value of the lived experience of research subjects on arbitrary grounds.

I claim that men evaluate their possibilities for action from the viewpoint of their personal lived experiences and orient themselves to a range of threats, sanctions and possibilities around them (Berggren 2014). However, I suggest that the wider local sociocultural context, such as the emerging gender equality discourse changing the content of idealised masculinities in Nordic countries, should also be taken into account. Thus, diverging from the Connelian tradition does not mean that social hierarchies between masculinities should be abandoned as a target of analysis. Instead, subordination and exaltation of certain masculinities should be understood as relatively incohesive systems of thought and thus unstable and subject to change by locality and time (Petersen 1998, 116–117), although these discourses also affect material and social practices (Hearn 2012, 315).

In addition to emerging gender equality discourse, two distinct circumstances in the Finnish sociocultural context shape masculinities. Jukarainen (2014) argues that compulsory military service that affects only men, and Finland's belligerent past in comparison to other Nordic countries have turned military virtues into general men's virtues: historically, this model has compromised men's expressions of personal needs. Secondly, late industrialisation in comparison to other Nordic countries, strong occupational segregation of work as well as entrepreneurial attitudes dominant in small-scale independent farming have historically accustomed men to see work as the primary basic principle guiding their lives (Turtiainen and Väänänen 2012).

In the following I will show how these ideals were recognised and their values renegotiated by participants who acknowledged that some traditional ways of

being a man conflicted with their wellbeing. Moreover, participants experienced themselves as subjects of workplace health promotion during work hours. Although participants found these interventions potentially helpful, the criticism of lifestyles centred on work provided them with the ability to consider the meanings of this phenomenon and partly resist it (see Dailey, Burke and Carberry 2018; James and Zoller 2018). Thus, men's awareness of traditions and expectations surrounding them as men and workers did not determine their actions but gave them the opportunity to question and resist these modes of being.

Method

This chapter draws from 18 semi-structured interviews conducted in 2017 and 2018 in different work sectors: media (N=7), social services and healthcare (N=7), and logistics (N=4). Participants identified as men and lived in the Greater Helsinki area. Participants were contacted by approaching trade unions in Greater Helsinki, and also through both snowballing via existing study subjects and the author's personal contacts. Because work-related self-care among men has previously been connected to highly educated workers in knowledge-intensive work, I aimed at wider socioeconomic coverage and representativeness in the data collection process: I focused on three fields with different education requirements, different factors producing work-related stress and differences in gender segregation. All men worked in fixed-term or permanent employment relationships. Two participants had more than one job, one as an employee in two organisations, and one as both an employee and a self-employed person. Four participants worked in managerial positions. Although the focus on employed men was unintended, it helped me focus my analysis on the social and normative aspects of working life.

Greater Helsinki includes the smaller Capital Region and commuter towns surrounding Helsinki, the capital city of Finland. As the largest urbanised area in Finland with large inwards migration from other parts of the country, Greater Helsinki represents great variance in working conditions and Finnish local cultures. Helsinki is an example of a post-industrial Nordic region in which industry jobs have been replaced by service sector jobs. Greater Helsinki belongs to the region of Uusimaa where the population is more highly educated on average than in other parts of Finland.

Six out of seven participants in both the media and healthcare sectors held bachelor's degrees or higher. I supplemented the data by interviewing men who work in logistics, which differs from the two previously mentioned fields

in being both male-dominated and, in many instances, requiring no formal education. All of the participants working in logistics had only secondary education, and only one had an education corresponding to his field of work.

As the sampling proceeded, I focused the recruitment of participants on men who were not between 35 to 45 years old, heterosexual, highly educated, and white ethnic Finns, as interviews of these men constituted the majority of the data. The average participant age was 39 years, with participant ages ranging from the early 20s to the late 50s. Although themes raised by the interviewer did not include sexuality, three men stated that they lived in non-heterosexual intimate relationships. Most of the participants made references to heterosexuality. All participants were able-bodied. Two participants stated that they had an illness that demanded regular treatment. My original aim to include in the sample interviews a variety of men from different socioeconomic groups, age groups, sexualities and ethnicities only partially succeeded. Despite the presence of men of different fields, ages and sexualities, the overwhelming majority of interviewees, with one exception, were white, ethnic Finns. In addition, the generalisability of the findings drawn from the data is also limited by the relatively small geographical context and spontaneous participation of interviewees. Participation was voluntary. Therefore, it is worth noting that men who did not find self-care to be a relevant matter in their lives were unlikely to participate and men who participated often had a thought-out opinion on the topic that they wanted to share. For example, several participants reported that they had found the expectations put on them as men to be problematic and they wanted to instigate resistance to these expectations by participating in the study.

The themes covered in the interviews were matters affecting wellbeing in the workplace, the meanings and contents of work-related self-care, respondents' own practices of work-related self-care, and how gender identity influenced work-related self-care in both the participants' lives and in Finnish society. Besides these themes, other topics, such as the impact of workplace health promotion on self-care, were introduced by the participants themselves.

I looked for a balance between an endeavour towards gender equality and an interest in learning more about what men think and feel about self-care as follows. Flood (2013) points out that when a man interviews a man, the homosociality between men is a double-edged sword. It is desirable that the interview is perceived as a shared project between two men in which the participant's experiences as a man are valued. However, homosociality may also be perceived as a natural context for practices in which masculine identity is performed in front of other men through, for example, sexually objectifying behaviours. In line with Flood, I avoided participating in masculinity performances that included sexism, racism or homophobia, and I was willing to refuse to give room to these ideas in

the interview situation. However, I experienced no need for such an intervention during the interviews. Studies addressing self-care as an empowering practice may focus too keenly on what the analyst sees as structurally significant agency (Crocket 2017, 35–36). Thus, I was determined not to challenge participants' conceptions of what they understood as favourable or functional self-care.

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data (Braun and Clarke 2006). While employing this methodology, researchers should make an intentional choice between 'semantic' and 'latent' themes, that is to say, analysis of semantic patterns and analysis of ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations that may be expressed differently in different contexts (84). My analysis follows the strategy focusing on latent themes: I assume that speech expresses attitudes that have material consequences in the lives of the participants. It indicates both conceptual schemas that delimit understandings and deployment of concepts and categories in order to achieve specific political goals (Bacchi 2005).

The data were read and coded for themes related to my research questions. The analysis began with coding the data manually using descriptive content analysis, which meant dividing the data into meaning units. One meaning unit consisted of an utterance, which held a single thought, opinion or idea. Second, similar codes were divided under thematic categories. In the final analysis all categories produced were reviewed and named. Only themes that I considered strong enough are presented in the following section. These themes were constructed around at least one code that was present at least once in more than half of the 18 interviews. Also, less commonly occurring codes were included under these themes as long as they supported and deepened the ideas of more prevalent codes.

Findings: Men Renegotiating their Positions on Careers and Health at Work

I identified two repeating themes related to both research questions I put forward in the beginning of this chapter. First, I analysed how men cared for themselves and what goals they set for their self-care. Participants reported that their work-related self-care mostly included practices affecting bodily and mental health with the aim of achieving long-term personal wellbeing. Moreover, this theme of personal wellbeing was supplemented by an aspiration to balance work and non-work. Men expressed concern for themselves in light of both understanding paid work as a personal duty and the experience of pressure to spend more of their limited personal resources on work than they found reasonable. Here the personal

significance of advancing and/or prolonging a career in a single field or workplace was downplayed.

Second, I analysed how men experienced surrounding norms as limiting and/or enabling their self-care and how they reacted to these norms. Participants felt that their employer directed them towards certain forms of self-care that increase work performance. This was understood as a potentially ominous state of affairs: external tips concerning self-care were understood as useful, but they also included a risk of exploitation. Concurrently, participants experienced that their engagement with practices previously associated with subordinated masculinities and femininities was less regulated than among previous generations of men. Under changing social pressures, the majority of the respondents felt that certain employer-driven forms of self-care that signal loyalty to the employer were more binding than being a certain kind of man. The following four empirical sections address the four themes interpreted in greater detail. All names are pseudonyms.

Personal Wellbeing

During the interviews, participants produced numerous different understandings of practices to be counted as self-care. In speech, the most prevalent aim attributed to self-care was wellbeing, understood as a situation in which most areas of life are enjoyable in the long run. To illustrate this point, Pasi separated the activities that promote long-lasting wellbeing from the activities that produce mere pleasure. He saw the use of intoxicants to deal with stress as counterproductive:

> Pasi: There is true self-care, and then there is specious self-care, in which you just escape your problems. For example, drinking liquor: that is not self-care, in a way you just postpone your problems until the next day. If a guy cares for himself, it includes going to the movies, seeing friends, eating out, having pleasurable free time, walking outside, travelling. (Media, 35–39 y.)

In addition to choosing free time activities that were both pleasant and not unhealthy, respondents also practiced discipline that aimed to change or maintain certain qualities of the body and mind, including rest, exercise, and restrictions on the consumption of intoxicants and food. "Treating one's body as a thing to be managed" (Connell and Wood 2005, 355), which has not been perceived as socially acceptable for men by men in all sociocultural contexts, was clearly understood as necessary in working life:

> Interviewer: If you think about your current job and your ability to stay in it, what do you understand as the most important forms of self-care you should practise?
>
> Sami: [. . .] Well, if you think about concrete ones. You must sleep enough, and go to bed early. It is very important, although I'm quite bad at it. (laughter) I often stay up a little bit longer than I should. And a healthy diet, exercise. I try to exercise a little bit so I can keep going. (Social services and healthcare, 40–44 y.)

Sami's self-care aimed at an appropriate use of self in a professional role by pursuing high performance and an absence of fatigue. However, participants perceived their work on their own health as separate from the informal organisational discourses that create competition and hierarchies between individuals. These discourses include recognising colleagues as competitors (Connell and Wood 2005), comparison between individuals (Amsterdam and Eck 2019; Huzell and Larsson 2012; Meriläinen, Tienari and Valtonen 2015), expressing professional value (Kelly, Allender and Colquohon 2007; Riach and Cutcher 2014), or expressing loyalty to an employer (Cederström and Spicer 2015, 32). Instead, participants aimed at coping with work, also by restricting the resources spent on it:

> Kimmo: I think I have gone through a change in the last two years. I have learned all sorts of survival mechanisms for [work]. I have also realised that as a superior I cannot intervene in everything. I call it the 'Oh dear!' technique: sometimes you just have to raise your hands and say: 'oh dear, there's nothing I can do, just try to manage your job'. (laughter) In a way, I have arrived at a situation in which I must protect my own stuff, my own mental health. (Social services and healthcare, 50–54 y.)

Kimmo felt that the interests of the organisation he works for may conflict with his own interests. He had to restrict the time and effort he put into his professional role as a head nurse in order to promote personal wellbeing and to use himself in other contexts too, apart from work. Kimmo's narrative demonstrates how respondents were ready to compromise their loyalty to organisations. Men did not want to boost their wellbeing in order to become a more productive and reliable worker. Instead, most respondents understood wellbeing as a resource that should be protected from the organisation.

Aspiration to Balance

Men understood work as their duty, and stressed that their self-care was not about prioritising self over work in every situation. What Bacchi (2005) terms schemas that delimit understandings appeared here: respondents constructed material preconditions that delimited possibilities to protect the self against the work. Sami, a nurse in his early 40s, reasoned that: "It isn't possible that everyone would just

indulge in unemployment in a way that 'I'm not interested in working, and I'm just not going to work'". The majority of participants understood self-care as a conscious aspiration for a balance between work and non-work. John, who had immigrated to Finland in his late 20s, appreciated his upbringing for teaching him an attitude to work that he found relatively rare in Finland:

> John: I was raised well in a way that work is work and not your whole life. It is important that, if you were like me as a student, you could be as drunk as ever, but you worked, period. My parents said that you can party, but you will still go to the lecture the next day. [. . .] I talked with my wife about how Finnish people are very committed to work. Sometimes you must protect yourself from it and keep a distance. One shouldn't always be a kind person. [. . .] I sometimes joke about it at home. 'Is this the Winter War?' You see, in the Winter War too you had to be alone and survive. (Social services and healthcare, 40–44 y.)

John, and the majority of the respondents, wanted to make sure that while a share of their personal time and resources were allocated to work, they could still regulate the size of that share. Ari, a journalist in his early 40s, felt he wanted to intentionally and vigorously protect his free time against pressure to work more: "The salary defines the product I'm selling to an employer. Now it's seven and a half work hours per day, and that's it". Thus, men did not attach their self-care to work as a central source of positive self-identification, but to the possibility of using the self in non-work activities instead. Furthermore, they did not strive for increased performance in work or being identified by other people, especially superiors, as "professional, entrepreneurial, resilient" (Kelly, Allender and Colquohon 2007, 267). Instead, participants described their self-care in terms that included the possibility that other people might be visibly more willing to devote more of their personal resources to work.

Furthermore, participants linked the ideal of balancing work and non-work to the responsibility of the employer. After demonstrating a certain amount of reliable work performance, men felt that it was their employer's duty to help them rather than their duty to suit their employer. John stated that he was willing to urge the employer to take responsibility. He compared this to behaviour by his co-workers which he found unhealthy: "Some men in work try to be cavemen. [. . .] If we're having a party, they drink a whole bottle of gin in order to relieve stress. I try to take care of [stress] beforehand. I don't find it problematic to talk to my superior if I am scared at work". John drew from the interpretative repertoires that view men's reluctance to help seeking in derisively (Farrimond 2012), when he refused to be a 'caveman': someone who is emotionally reticent with his superiors to achieve honour through self-reliance and exaggerated shows of productivity.

As part of regulating the use of personal resources, men also questioned career models attached to traditionally idealised masculinities (see Biese 2017): when respondents felt an incompatibility between themselves and their work, they were willing to change their work instead of reshaping themselves. John, who found his shift work wearing, was actively preparing the way for a change in his career: "After doing this for eight years, I don't want to see myself in this job in another five years. I'll start doing something completely different". John did not find a focus on a single organisation or work field and career progression within it to be a potential source of experiencing success. Instead, he saw work as an obligatory task to be managed in a way that supported his personal wellbeing and other life goals.

External Power: Critical Co-optation and Intentional Resistance

The majority of participants felt that their employer offered them help on self-care and that self-care was addressed repeatedly in both the workplace and in the media. Men perceived these messages as a use of power to which they were subjects:

> Esko: It is parroted on the intranet. There are schedules for group exercises in most elevators. I understand it as a message from our employer: 'remember to take care of yourself!' However, it's more like a supply from which to choose and not an accusation. [. . .] Ordinary people go [to social media] to say how much they exercise and how pleasurable it is. [. . .] We talk about it at home: Should we eat salad or steak, and should we watch TV or go for a walk? It's everywhere! (laughter) (Media, 35–39 y.)

Although Esko perceived himself as subjected to various suggestions, he also perceived himself as free of compulsion and able to choose the self-care practices that suit him. Co-optation was critical: although the presence of certain discourses may be motivated by their benefit to the employer or commercial interest, intervention in personal health behaviour may also be beneficial for the individual (see Dailey, Burke and Carberry 2018). Thus, respondents did not experience principled reasons to cease self-care activities inspired by, for example, the superior:

> Sami: Our former head nurse told me once that people who work in mental health are always open. Every patient opens something in yourself, maybe your own traumatic memories or something like that. No-one has a completely trauma-free life history, and it makes us vulnerable. The work may turn out to be dangerous. This is a question that I

> have been working on lately. [. . .] How to prevent the patients from triggering my traumatic memories? (Social services and healthcare, 40–44 y.)

In line with Pietilä (2008) on the development of men's health behaviour in Finland, Sami stressed the rationality of his stance.

However, usefulness and rationality from the individual viewpoint also marked the boundary of acceptable organisational power on the self-care practised by employees and constituted resistance (see James and Zoller 2018). For example, Miska interpreted workplace health promotion as an attempt to use power over employees in order to fulfil the needs of employers, and against this particular background he expressed concern for his own wellbeing:

> Miska: The models of self-care are pretty much learned. They are offered to us, and they come to us from outside. [. . .] I recognise it in myself that I've learned, listened and read about those models that may be beneficial for me, and then I've tried them in order to find out if they work for me. [. . .] There are many aspects of occupational wellbeing in which it is important to intervene in the work itself and the ways it's done. [. . .] My employer offered us mindfulness services, and the question crossed my mind: Is this about patching up problems that are caused by something else? (Media, 25–29 y.)

Miska acknowledged that in order to practise self-care one must take in some external guidelines. However, Miska wanted to choose these guidelines himself. He felt that neither loyalty to the employer nor the employer's willingness to increase his work performance from its current state were valid reasons to practise self-care. Therefore, the workplace health initiative provoked resistance in him.

Moreover, the majority of the respondents argued that self-care should be understood as a private matter. They felt that their colleagues were both conscientious and rational enough to have authority over their own self-care practices. Men also explicitly resisted the use of self-care as a form of horizontal power in an organisation. Health was not to be understood as a site of comparison and stigmatisation between individuals (cf. Amsterdam and Eck 2019):

> Mauri: I've seen that some people come to work although they need to vomit during breaks. For other people, it's just a little flu or backache, and they go on sick leave for two weeks. It is a personal thing how you perceive yourself. Everybody knows their own body and has experience of how much it can take. I know it for myself and know when I have to admit that I cannot work anymore. (Logistics, 20–24 y.)

> Osmo: I'm not going to force my own ideas on my colleagues. I can give tips and share my own experiences, but I'm not assuming that my colleagues should adopt them and do things my way. However, it may be very interesting to listen to, for example, a colleague of mine who has tried a vegetarian diet. [. . .]

> Interviewer: What would be the negative consequences of pushing ideas?
>
> Osmo: Other people might find it unpleasant or irritating. (Social services and healthcare, 30–34 y.)

In contrast to previous takes on masculinities (see Riach and Cutcher 2014) and health (Amsterdam and Eck 2019; Huzell and Larsson 2012) in organisational contexts, men did not perceive their workplace as a site of competition and they also refused to understand talking about self-care as way of expressing a higher work ethic in comparison to their colleagues. However, men understood workplace health promotion and collegial tips as potentially beneficial and useful if their contents were critically examined first.

Plural Masculinities and Decreasing Social Pressure

Participants perceived masculinities as plural external models of being a man that can be either co-opted or resisted:

> Interviewer: Is it appropriate for a man to be concerned for himself or care for himself?
>
> Kimmo: I think it should be. It's not only appropriate but necessary. In these things you must be selfish, to a certain extent. You must be selfish because the truth is that we, as men, sacrifice ourselves. I'm not sure if it's like that anymore, but at least that's the traditional picture of men. A bloke goes and does everything. (Social services and healthcare, 50–54 y.)

Kimmo argued that for men it is conventional to refuse self-care. This "traditional picture of men" resembles the understanding of hegemonic masculinity by Robertson, Williams and Oliffe (2016, 59–60), which includes self-reliance and neglecting personal wellbeing in order to work, as well as understanding work as a source of respect and positive self-identification. However, Kimmo also perceived a better alternative for it: "Sometimes I've been forced to admit that 'heck, I'm tired', and I've actually experienced it as a good thing". Here, his disidentification from the "traditional picture of men" was not only due to rational reflection, but also to the good feeling it gave him. Here it is evident that Kimmo had found his affective relationship to self-care and men's social role restricting in his own life and had motivated him to participate in the study.

Men perceived pressures to comply with a certain masculinity as real for people who live within a particularly strict code of masculinity. However, participants felt they were free to choose their mode of being from among more than one option. An awareness of masculinity as something men do and

perform (see Waling 2019), as well as the plural masculinities available (see Jóhannsdóttir and Gíslason 2018), enabled men to modify these gender scripts and react to them affectively. This appeared to be increasingly possible due to the perceived structural changes in the sociocultural context of the men interviewed. For Riku, self-care through scrutinising personal experiences of tiredness did not conflict with the surrounding norms:

> Riku: No-one asked [my grandfathers] anything when they came back from the war. They both made their living from agriculture. Army uniforms were thrown away and they went to work in a field. You were allowed to keep your own traumas inside your head and pass them on to the next generation. [. . .] It has been a quite big taboo in Finnish society, and all around the world. Nowadays it's not such a stigma anymore to talk about it if you feel tired at work. (Social services and healthcare, 40–44 y.)

Riku interpreted emotional reticence as socially beneficial in the sociocultural setting of the past. In that sociocultural setting, "soldiering-citizenship" (Jukarainen 2014, 92) was admired. However, respondents did not find this to be just a mutual code of conduct shared by men who actually fought in the war. For example, Ari argued that it was also further enhanced through explicit messages to, and expectations put on, men and boys of the next generation:

> Interviewer: Is it appropriate for a man to care for himself?
>
> Ari: It is for men of my age. I'm in quite a privileged position in comparison to men who are older than me. I have grown in a community in which there are very strong expectations of being a man, men's work, and men's behaviour. [. . .] Our parents made it clear to my generation that men are obliged to do military service. Due to the heritage of wartime, men are men and they do men's work. (Media, 40–44 y.)

The majority of the participants felt that their surroundings enabled "selective incorporation of performances and identity elements associated with [. . .] femininities" (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 246). Participants also understood themselves as more rational and health-aware than men of earlier generations (see Pietilä 2008), and for them, this selective incorporation was part of that line of development:

> Mikko: I sometimes laugh when I tell someone I'm the only man [in a group exercise class]. [. . .] But that is what makes me laugh. Body maintenance is the same for men and for women. Our bodies do not differ that much from each other. We should all bow and stretch, turn our bodies to the left and right and check that everything is moving. (Media, 40–44 y.)

Mikko experienced indifference towards certain masculinities: although they are present, they can also be ignored. For the participants, effectiveness was a more important factor in self-care than its potential conflict with their identification as men.

Although the conflict between masculinity and self-care was understood as artificial, there were differences between respondents in how they perceived their possibilities to act freely. This freedom was available mostly to men who occupy knowledge-intensive work (see Bridges and Pascoe 2014; Farrimond 2012). Echoing earlier analysis of men's lived experiences (Berggren 2014; Hearn 2012), some respondents perceived the norms of masculinity as obligatory under threat of sanctions:

> Elmeri: A Finnish man does not complain. He just does his work.
>
> Interviewer: Is this still a valid model today?
>
> Elmeri: In my lovely workplace, attitudes change slowly. There you can find these relics from the distant past. Come on! They are uneducated people.
>
> [. . .]
>
> Interviewer: How does it affect your actions?
>
> Elmeri: There are things I would never talk about in my workplace. (Logistics, 30–34 y.)

Elmeri experienced that his social surroundings did not enable him to engage in certain visible self-care practices. However, his personal understanding of change, despite being slow, constructed a plurality of masculinities available for men in Finnish society. Elmeri also understood the slowness of this change as part of his workplace and the socioeconomic characteristics of his colleagues, suggesting that, generally, change which allows men's work-related self-care was a positive thing and actually happening. However, Elmeri felt that this change was more rapid in other contexts of Finnish society and in other fields of work.

Discussion and Conclusions

Through interviews with 18 men living and working in Greater Helsinki, Finland, this study uncovered the hows and the whys of men's work-related self-care. Following recent discussions on men and masculinity studies, I focused on men's agency and applied the concepts of co-optation and resistance in my analysis. The analysis showed that men considered personal wellbeing as well as the balance between work and non-work as the primary goals of their self-care. Although participants did not resist workplace health promotion for principled reasons, it was repeatedly perceived as a use of power that potentially conflicted with their efforts toward personal wellbeing. Men perceived that there was more

than one model of masculinity available to them in the surrounding society, from which they chose to practise the one that was compatible with their personal needs. For the majority of participants, this included co-optation of performances associated with what have been previously understood as femininities and subordinated masculinities. However, due the socioeconomic coverage of the data, the social surroundings of the participants, including the masculinities accepted in their workplaces, varied. Therefore, this free borrowing was not always possible, but instead affected by socioeconomic contexts (see Bridges and Pascoe 2014; Farrimond 2012).

Differing from earlier research on the intersections of men, masculinities and health in work, the findings of this study suggest that men practise self-care for other reasons than to build their professional identity and to promote their career. The majority of the participants described their self-care as practices that aim towards personal wellbeing and a balance between work and non-work. Non-work was constituted as being as valuable as work. On the other hand, participation in working life was justified through the material necessity of supporting oneself as well as society and its public infrastructure. Here the majority of the participants did not describe positive self-identification as a core meaning of their work. Thus, the conception of men as evaluating themselves through achievements in paid work, a claim also questioned by earlier research on men and masculinities in Nordic countries (Eerola 2015; Jóhannsdóttir and Gíslason 2018), was further disputed. This way of being a man produced a strong affective reaction from the respondents, manifested in speech that expressed fear, frustration and mockery. Men found the interview situation to be a relaxed and natural situation in which to express such feelings and make them public.

However, the participants felt that the normative aspects of their surroundings were not always compatible with their endeavours. They reported that workplace health promotion encouraged the management of the self towards higher performance and resistance to stress in a way that was contrary to their personal ambitions. Participants stated that they perceived themselves as distancing themselves from this model. This rejection was not complete, as participants also felt that they were able to co-opt certain useful practices from wellness discussions in the media and the workplace. Although, in the words of Miska, "the models of self-care are pretty much learned", this learning was selectively taken up in accordance with the respondents' other lived experiences and beliefs. Thus, having agency in deciding on the forms and aims of self-care was crucial to being a subject who wanted to care for himself. The need for self-care was often articulated alongside an explicit critical attitude toward workplace health promotion, the gendered expectations on men's behaviour in Finnish society and one's own earlier behaviour. Using Waling's (2019) poststructural understanding

of men's agency as a springboard, I argue that self-care or hybrid masculinity were not worldviews with designated behaviours, practices, morals and goals. Instead, they were something that men chose to do as a reaction to the intersecting relations of power affecting them. Here, theorisations based on men's participation in masculinities that regulate their behaviours lack explanatory power.

The findings of this study have two practical implications for men's health in working life. First, this study helps to rethink men's health in working life without reference to competition and hierarchies among men. This was achieved by a wider socioeconomic coverage compared to previous research. In addition, the research design in which respondents were asked to define self-care and describe their methods of self-care in relation to working life contributed to this result, as the organisational viewpoint on health promotion was not emphasised by the interviewer. Through this remark, health services, including workplace health promotion, targeted at men can also be rethought from a viewpoint that gives more consideration to men's increased willingness to act non-competitively, care for their health and use their time and personal resources for something other than work. Second, Eerola's (2015) claim that Finnish men are defying work-oriented masculinity received new support. The participants of this study understood this defiance as a form of caring for one's own health and wellbeing. Thus, my research helps organisations to prepare for societal change in which society and employers can no longer count on men's continual willingness to prioritise work over other aspects of their lives. In particular, men's increased criticism of masculinities centred on work foreshadows men's transverse movement in between organisations, fragmentary careers and their interest in more personally meaningful careers. Men's increased interest in work-related self-care does not automatically imply docility to any other principle guiding them in working life.

Acknowledgements: I thank Marjut Jyrkinen, Jukka Lehtonen, and Linda McKie, as well as Kadri Aavik and Josephine Hoegaerts, for their insightful and helpful feedback on earlier drafts of this chapter. This work was funded by Academy of Finland (Strategic Research Council) [Grant number: 292883] and the doctoral programme Gender, Culture and Society at the University of Helsinki.

References

Amsterdam, Noortje van, and Dide van Eck. 2019. "'I have to go the extra mile.' How fat female employees manage their stigmatized identity at work." *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 35(1): 46–55.

Bacchi, Carol. 2005. "Discourse, Discourse Everywhere: Subject 'Agency' in Feminist Discourse Methodology." *NORA – Nordic Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3): 198–209.

Berggren, Kalle. 2014. "Sticky Masculinity: Post-structuralism, Phenomenology and Subjectivity in Critical Studies on Men." *Men and Masculinities* 17(3): 231–252.

Biese, Ingrid. 2017. *Opting Out and In. On Women's Careers and New Lifestyles*. London: Routledge.

Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. 2006. "Using thematic analysis in psychology." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(2): 77–101.

Bressi, Sara, and Elizabeth Vaden. 2017. "Reconsidering Self Care." *Clinical Social Work Journal* 45(1): 33–38.

Bridges, Tristan, and C. J. Pascoe. 2014. "Hybrid Masculinities: New Directions in the Sociology of Men and Masculinities." *Sociology Compass* 8(3): 246–258.

Cederström, Carl, and André Spicer. 2015. *The Wellness Syndrome*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, Raewyn, and James Messerschmidt. 2005. "Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept." *Gender and Society* 19(6): 829–859.

Connell, Raewyn, and Julian Wood. 2005. "Globalization and Business Masculinities." *Men and Masculinities* 7(4): 347–364.

Crocket, Hamish. 2017. "Problematizing Foucauldian Ethics: A Review of Technologies of the Self in Sociology of Sport Since 2003." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 41(1): 21–41.

Dailey, Stephanie, Tricia Burke, and Emmalene Carberry. 2018. "For Better or For Work: Dual Discourses in a Workplace Wellness Program." *Management Communication Quarterly* 32 (4): 612–626.

Eerola, Petteri. 2015. *Responsible Fatherhood. A Narrative Approach*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Farrimond, Hannah. 2012. "Beyond the caveman: rethinking masculinity in relation to men's help-seeking." *Health* 16(2): 208–225.

Flood, Michael. 2013. "Negotiating Gender in Men's Research among Men." In *Men, Masculinities and Methodologies*, edited by Barbara Pini and Bob Pease, 64–76. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hannikainen, Matti, and Sakari Heikkinen. 2006. "The Labour Market, 1850–2000." In *The Road to Prosperity. An Economic History of Finland*, edited by Jari Ojala, Jari Eloranta and Jukka Jalava, 165–186. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Hearn, Jeff. 2012. "Male Bodies, Masculine Bodies, Men's Bodies: The Need for a Concept of Gex." In *Routledge Handbook of Body Studies*, edited by Brian Turner, 307–320. London: Routledge.

Heyes, Cressida. 2007. *Self-transformations: Foucault, Ethics, and Normalized Bodies*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Huzell, Henrietta, and Patrik Larsson. 2012. "Aesthetic and Athletic Employees: The Negative Outcome of Employers Assuming Responsibility for Sickness Benefits." *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 33(11): 103–123.

James, Eric, and Heather Zoller. 2018. "Resistance Training: (Re)shaping Extreme Forms of Workplace Health Promotion." *Management Communication Quarterly* 32(1): 60–89.
Jóhannsdóttir, Ásta, and Ingólfur Gíslason. 2018. "Young Icelandic Men's Perception of Masculinities." *Journal of Men's Studies* 26(1): 3–19.
Jukarainen, Pirjo. 2014. "Men Making Peace in the Name of Just War. The Case of Finland." In *Making Gender, Making War: Violence, Military and Peacekeeping Practices*, edited by Annica Kronsell and Erika Svedberg, 90–103. New York and London: Routledge.
Kelly, Peter, Steven Allender, and Derek Colquhoun. 2007. "New Work Ethics?: The Corporate Athlete's Back End Index and Organizational Performance." *Organization* 14(2): 267–285.
Kortteinen, Matti. 1992. *Kunnian kenttä: Suomalainen palkkatyö kulttuurisena muotona* [*Field of Glory: Finnish Paid Work as a Cultural Form*]. Helsinki: Hanki ja jää.
Matthews, Christopher. 2016. "The appropriation of hegemonic masculinity within selected research on men's health." *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies* 11(1): 3–18.
Meriläinen, Susan, Janne Tienari, and Anu Valtonen. 2015. "Headhunters and the 'ideal' executive body." *Organization* 22(1): 3–22.
Petersen, Alan. 1998. *Unmasking the Masculine: "Men" and "Identity" in a Sceptical Age*. London: Sage.
Pietilä, Ilkka. 2008. *Between Rocks and Hard Places. Ideological dilemmas in men's talk about health and gender*. Tampere: University of Tampere.
Riach, Kathleen, and Leanne Cutcher. 2014. "Built to last: ageing, class and the masculine body in a UK hedge fund." *Work, Employment and Society* 28(5): 771–787.
Robertson, Steve, Bob Williams, and John Oliffe. 2016. "The Case for Retaining a Focus on 'Masculinities' in Men's Health Research." *International Journal of Men's Health* 15(1): 52–67.
Siltala, Juha. 1994. *Miehen kunnia. Modernin miehen taistelu häpeää vastaan* [*Honour of a Man. Modern Man's Battle against Shame*]. Helsinki: Otava.
Taylor, Dianna. 2009. "Normativity and Normalization." *Foucault Studies* (7): 45–63.
Turtiainen, Jussi, and Ari Väänänen. 2012. "Men of Steel?: The Masculinity of Metal Industry Workers in Finland after World War II." *Journal of Social History* 46(1): 449–472.
Waling, Andrea. 2019. "Rethinking Masculinity Studies: Feminism, Masculinity, and Poststructural Accounts of Agency and Emotional Reflexivity." *Journal of Men's Studies* 27(1): 89–107.

Ingrid Biese

2 Men Opting out: Disenchantment with Corporate Cultures and Career Ideals

Abstract: Opting out of successful careers has been a highly debated topic ever since *New York Times* columnist Lisa Belkin published her article 'The Opt-Out Revolution'. However, men have not been included in the debate, nor has it captured contemporary, societal aspects, as it has focused solely on women who leave to care full-time for children. I have thus broadened the definition of opting out to include opting in to new lifestyles or solutions for work. Mainstream career models no longer accurately describe preferred or actual career patterns and progressions. In addition, although prevalent career models are based on masculinist norms, they do not leave much room for diversity among men. Using a narrative approach, this chapter draws on the narratives of 29 men from Finland, the UK and the US who opted out of mainstream masculinist careers to pursue new lifestyles and solutions for work. The men typically felt disenchanted with corporate ideals and expectations as they progressed up the career ladder. This disenchantment came from internal struggles associated with increased pressure and stress on the one hand, and ethical issues regarding the treatment of, for example, employees and clients on the other. Opting out allowed them to create solutions for work that provided a sense of coherence, authenticity and wellbeing, and made it possible for them to spend time and nurture the relationships with people who were important to them.

Introduction

Opting out has been a debated topic ever since *New York Times* columnist Lisa Belkin (2003) coined the term "opt-out revolution" in 2003 (Jones 2012; Williams et al. 2006). However, as the debate has focused on questions of gender and women who leave their careers altogether to become stay-at-home mothers, it has missed important societal perspectives, like the effect of contemporary working cultures on individuals' identities and sense of self. Nor has it recognised that opting out may not only be a women's issue, even though it has been argued that the opting out debate should also include men (Zimmerman and Clark 2016; McKie, Biese and Jyrkinen 2013; Aumann and Galinsky 2012).

In her column, Belkin (2003) wrote about high-powered women who did not feel that their successful careers had provided them with a successful life. They raised issues like balance and sanity to describe what they had been missing in

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-003

their previous careers and what they were looking for in their new lifestyles. Reactions to the column have been mixed, however much of the research on opting out is critical, arguing that this so-called revolution is a myth, because if women are leaving their careers, they are being pushed out of masculinist cultures instead of leaving by choice (see Cossman 2009; Boushey 2005; Percheski 2008; Stone 2007). Critics have shown that there is, in fact, no statistical evidence that career women are leaving successful careers in any great or rising numbers; highly educated women rarely stop working altogether to stay at home full-time with their children (Zimmerman and Clark 2016; Boushey 2005, 2008; Percheski 2008). However, the statistics have not captured individuals who leave successful careers but stay in the labour market and work on different terms, as they have merely focused on those who stop working altogether.

As I will illustrate in this chapter, opting out is not only about women, nor is it only about individuals who juggle work with childcare. I have thus broadened the definition of opting out to include opting in to alternative lifestyles and solutions for work. This definition is not bound to any one gender and it encompasses contemporary work cultures, which are continuously becoming increasingly hectic. The globalised digital economy has contributed to creating a culture where individuals struggle to adjust to new experiences of the self (Elliott 2013). Long-term focus has been replaced by short-termism and quick wins, and individual flexibility and adaptability are crucial in order to survive the ever-tougher corporate climate and workplace conditions (Sennett 2006). As the focus has shifted from knowledge and experience to having potential and an ability to adjust to change and survive in a flexible, ambiguous environment, individuals are typically left with feelings of insecurity and ambiguity, making it difficult for them to create coherent narratives of their life and work (Elliott and Lemert 2006).

According to the Kelly Global Workforce Index 2014, approximately half of all global workers are unhappy in their jobs, mainly due to a lack of security caused by constant cost-cutting and restructuring. Middle managers have been found to be among the unhappiest (Zenger and Folkman 2014). The American Psychological Association (2015) reports work and money as the two top sources of stress and in the past decades, work-related stress has had a substantial adverse effect on health (Ganster and Rosen 2013; Cottini and Lucifora 2013; Pfeffer 2018). In the Nordic countries, for example, the cost of care for mental illness has skyrocketed since 1991 and is today by far the largest healthcare cost (Ahonen et al. 2016). Nevertheless, when it comes to health issues, the focus is on the individual and the individual's lifestyle choices instead of focusing on the structures in society that are the sources of these increasing health issues and costs.

It is against this backdrop that opting out needs to be explored not only as a phenomenon where highly educated women leave the workforce altogether, but where both men and women leave a certain work ideal and career model to create alternative ways of working. In 1993, a decade before Belkin wrote her column, Barrentine (1993) argued that when corporate environments become toxic, women are the first to leave, but that men will soon follow. More recently Mainiero and Sullivan (2006) have also argued that opting out is indeed something that we will see more of.

In this chapter, I introduce men to the opting out debate. I have interviewed professional men from Finland, the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK), who opted out of successful careers to adopt alternative lifestyles and solutions for work. I will explore the reasons why they opted out and how they make sense of their experiences. I will start with a discussion of prevalent masculinist career ideals, corporate environments and changing masculinities in contemporary society. Next, I will introduce my research project, my methodology and the data set that I draw on in this chapter. I will also briefly describe the central themes in my earlier research on women opting out and explore how these have informed my current research on men opting out and how they compare to the men's narratives that I have collected. After that, the narratives will be introduced and analysed, looking specifically at what it was about the corporate environments that made the men decide to leave. Although all the men also opted in to new lifestyles and solutions for work, the focus in this chapter is on the opting out part of the men's processes, and the reasons behind their decisions to leave. I have distinguished three main themes: 'exhausted and disillusioned', 'unethical treatment of others' and 'difficulties coping with the pressure', according to which the analysis is structured. Finally, I will end with a discussion and thoughts for further research.

Masculinist Career Ideals and Changing Masculinities

The roots of the contemporary masculinist linear career model date back to the dawn of industrialisation, and the notion of a career gained a foothold as a result of the prosperity many nations experienced after World War II (Greenhaus et al. 2010). The employee was expected to be devoted to the job and could advance upwards in the organisational hierarchy through promotions. As middle-class families shifted from being a producing to a consuming unit, a dualism of public versus private spheres was created. Women were generally assigned to the private

realm of the home, while the public sphere of paid work and politics was mainly considered a man's world. However, as men could move between the two spheres, access to these was highly gendered (see for example Kinser 2010). Working in the industries took employees away from the home, and someone needed to stay to take care of the children and the household. It has thus been argued that the masculinist linear career model was planned for not one but one and a half people: the man with a career, and his wife who took care of all the things that the man no longer had time for (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002).

The masculinist linear career model no longer necessarily corresponds to contemporary individuals' lifestyles, preferences and needs, particularly as both men and women increasingly work and share care responsibilities and household chores (Greenhaus et al. 2010; McKie et al. 2013; Biese and Choroszewicz 2018). Careers today are multidirectional and boundaryless (Schreuder and Coetzee 2006; Mainiero and Sullivan 2006; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Nevertheless, the linear career ideal, which expects 24/7 commitment and devotion, continues to be the norm especially for those who strive to reach the upper echelons of corporate hierarchies (Blair-Loy 2003; Biese and McKie 2015). Not only does this leave few alternatives for individuals who want or need to organise their work differently, ironically, prevalent masculinist career ideals do not leave much room for diversity among men either (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

Social masculine norms are situated in time and place and are subject to historical development and change (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). During the past decades there has, for example, been a rise in caring masculinities and new fatherhood as a result of women's increased participation in the public sphere and initiatives to increase fathers' involvement in childcare (Borve and Bungum 2015). However, despite this, there continues to be evidence of normative patterns of practice and the idea of an "honored way of being a man" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 832). Hegemonic masculinity has proven useful when studying the gendered nature of organisations (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Connell and Wood 2005) and the global corporate economy is argued to be the setting for a pattern of hegemonic masculinity that Connell (1998) has termed "transnational business masculinity". While hegemonic masculinities are in part bound by national cultural norms, global organisational cultures dominate and reinforce gender structuring and masculine ideals despite national differences (Collinson and Hearn 1996; Hearn and Piekkari 2005; Biese and Choroszewicz 2018) and managers have thus become an important group for understanding modern masculinities (Collinson and Hearn 1996). Organisational cultures have been found to override national difference and legislative support for professionals with, for example, care responsibilities (Hobson et al. 2011), making experiences

among corporate executives similar despite different cultural contexts (Biese and Choroszewicz 2018; Biese 2017).

Personal success in the workplace in the form of salary and promotion has been found to be central to men's identity construction and sense of self (Collinson and Hearn 1994). Choosing to opt out of a career defined by objective success measures (see Ng et al. 2005) could thus potentially pose a threat to identity. In addition, while women increasingly work and participate in supporting the family financially, the breadwinner ideal still continues to have a strong foothold (Tinsley et al. 2015). Men are expected to support their families financially, even in a country like Finland, which is considered one of the most gender equal countries in the world, and where there is a tradition of women working (Jyrkinen and McKie 2012). Opting out is thus harder for men to do than it is for women (see also Pajumets and Hearn 2012).

Men Opting Out

This chapter draws on the data collected for a research project titled 'New meanings of work: Men opting out of mainstream career models to adopt alternative approaches to work', funded by the Academy of Finland. For the project, I interviewed 29 male professionals from Finland (15), the UK (5) and the US (9), ranging between the ages of 32 to 63, who had opted out of mainstream masculinist career models to work and/or live on different terms. The US was a natural place to start, as that is where the opting out debate originated. The UK and Finland serve as contrasts. Both countries have more family-friendly policies and practices, which make it easier for individuals to combine work with other responsibilities. London – where the UK men in my data set worked before opting out – is a financial centre in Europe with highly competitive work cultures and practices, while Finland is a welfare state and is considered one of the most gender equal countries in the EU. Finnish fathers, for example, have a legislative right to paternity leave and are encouraged to take an active part in childcare (Eurostat 2016).

In the interviews, I used a free association-narrative approach (see Hollway and Jefferson 2000). This approach was appropriate as the objective was to study not only reasons behind decisions to opt out and what the men chose to do instead, but also to explore questions of identity and how their decisions affected their sense of self (see for example Hoyer and Steyaert 2015). As questions of identity are not always conscious, this approach provides the deep insights needed to explore what lies behind individuals' choices (Hollway and Jefferson 2000). The interviews were conducted between 2015 to 2017, lasted

between one and two and a half hours, and were recorded and manually transcribed. They were unstructured with few open-ended questions; the men were asked to speak freely about their experiences from the time before opting out to when they had opted in to their new lifestyles or ways of working. This allowed them to decide what they told and how. By not imposing structure on their narratives, they were able to elaborate as much as they wished without judgment or interpretation (Hollway and Jefferson 2000).

All the men in this study left mainstream masculinist careers models to live and work on different terms. Most of them worked in the private sector and held middle to upper management corporate positions before they opted out. They were thus on their way or already in the upper levels of corporate hierarchies. After they opted out, they opted in to a variety of different solutions for work. Some became entrepreneurs, some retrained and started working in another field, and some simply started working in organisations that allowed them to do so at a slower pace and on different terms. Although most of the men were fathers, five were not. Several of the men from the US, where high-quality day care is expensive and not readily available (Still 2006), became stay-at-home fathers, either for a period of time or indefinitely after opting out. This was not the case among the Finnish and UK men in my data set, of which only one became a stay-at-home father.

As I collected and analysed the men's narratives, I found that their opting out and in processes were quite similar to those of the women I had researched in an earlier study on opting out (see Biese 2017). Despite being from different countries, all the women I interviewed went through a similar process as they opted out and in. Before opting out, they experienced a lack of agency and control, and they found it difficult to created coherent narratives of their lives and work. Then a crisis made them realise they could no longer go on the way they had, which subsequently encouraged or pushed them to make a change. Although the issue of crisis had only been briefly mentioned in previous research (see for example Mainiero and Sullivan 2006), it was what the decisions to opt out and in hinged on for the women I interviewed (Biese 2017). After opting in to new lifestyles and solutions for work, they experienced a newfound sense of coherence, control, and authenticity, which, in turn, had a positive effect on their wellbeing (Biese 2017; Biese and McKie 2015; Biese and Choroszewicz 2018).

The same issues were also present in the men's narratives. Although they did not express it in these words, in most of the narratives, experiences of incoherence before opting out, a crisis, and the newfound sense of authenticity, coherence and control after opting in to their new lifestyles and solutions for work could be clearly discerned. The exception was a few of the stay-at-home fathers in the US, whose decisions to opt out were the result of discussions with their wives of how

to organise their family care responsibilities and finances. However, while the processes were similar to those of the women, the details differed. Due to different societal gender norms and expectations, factors that caused the lack of coherence before opting out often differed. Women typically deal with the burden of being mainly responsible for care work in society (McKie and Callan 2012) and often struggle to juggle that with a career that craves complete dedication and constant availability (Blair-Loy 2003; Biese and Choroszewicz 2018). Men, on the other hand, are generally much freer to spend long days at work. Another difference is that women are often told they can do anything they want to and are encouraged to follow their hearts when choosing a profession (Slaughter 2012). In contrast, the men in my dataset were much more bound by expectations and prestige when choosing a profession or what to study at university. Some were pressured by family members to do what other men in their family had done, or to choose something that would provide them with good job prospects and a high status and salary so that they could provide for a future family. This invariably added to the lack of coherence they felt before opting out.

To understand what exactly caused the men in my dataset to opt out, I examined the different phases of their opting out and in processes, paying special attention to the crisis each typically went through. There were two common issues that were recurrent in most of the narratives. One was a realisation that their chosen profession was not 'right' for them, that they felt they had to be someone they were not at work before opting out. The other was disenchantment with the corporate cultures and ideals. I have further divided these issues into three subthemes: 'exhausted and disillusioned', 'unethical treatment of others' and 'difficulties coping with the pressure'. I have structured the data analysis according to these sub-themes and I have chosen quotes from my dataset, where these issues are especially clearly expressed and illustrated. As the interviews were conducted in three languages – English (the US and UK interviews), Finnish and Swedish (the Finnish interviews) – I have translated the quotes of the Finnish men. Pseudonyms have been used and identifying details have been changed to protect the men's anonymity.

Disenchanted with Corporate Cultures and Career Ideals

Of the men in my study, all but two were in middle or top management positions. The pressure and expectation of 24/7 commitment and availability was a reality to them, and it did not leave time for much else in their lives. All but five

were fathers. Despite the rise of caring masculinities and new fatherhood (Borve and Bungum 2015), as well as legislation and initiatives that encourage men to take a more active role in the care of their children, there is relatively little support and understanding for this in organisations (Choroszewicz and Tremblay 2018; Biese and Choroszewicz 2018; Hobson et al. 2011). The jobs of all the men – both those who were fathers and those who were not – left little room to nurture relationships and pursue other areas of interest. However, this alone was not enough to push them to leave their careers. Many of the men also felt disenchanted by corporate cultures, practices and career ideals. In the narratives I collected, I discerned three recurring sub-themes related to the disenchantment the men in my dataset experienced. In the following I will present these three sub-themes, illustrating them with quotes from my dataset. I have chosen quotes from the narratives that especially clearly illustrate each sub-theme. However, the men's experiences often overlap and because of that the quotes may simultaneously be examples of more than one of the themes.

1 Exhausted and Disillusioned

Matti in Finland was a management consultant when he opted out. He was 30 years old and physically and mentally exhausted by the time he handed in his letter of resignation. As a consultant he worked very long hours:

> What we did at [the company] was completely crazy, we get better work done now [at the company I started working for after opting out] than we did there [where we worked very long hours] . . . I think the culture is the same in all consultancy companies. You look up to people who work a lot, look up to those who work the most hours and you work all night so that you are the king of the office and it's like wow. . . I have, for example, worked 28 hours in one go and it's like wow that's so cool and then afterwards you're like 'I'm an idiot.' (Matti, 34, Finland)

Working extremely long hours was both encouraged and admired; and it was not until after he opted out that Matti realised how extreme the situation really was. He was on annual leave when he noticed how tired he was. Nevertheless, it was not just the exhaustion that pushed him to leave; it was also an incident at work that made him realise that he did not want to do it anymore. Before he went on holiday, he had been blamed for a mistake that he had not even been involved in. He felt wrongly accused and badly treated:

> Consultants have exactly as much credibility as their numbers. If they are right, everything is okay but if they are wrong there is huge panic, so there was actually an incident, which didn't actually have anything to do with me, but I got the crap for it. (Matti, 34, Finland)

He was angry about getting the blame for someone else's mistake, and he just did not feel he could handle going back after his holiday. He wanted to do something completely different. He had been passionate about photography ever since he was a boy and had played with the idea of doing it professionally. The savings he had accumulated as a consultant got him started, but he had difficulties getting his photography business off the ground and he soon realised he needed to find another job that would provide him with an income. He eventually started working as a manager at a company with more humane hours. In other words, he went back to the world of business but on different terms.

As can be discerned in Matti's quote, it was not only the long hours that he experienced as extreme, it was also the corporate culture, which, in combination with the pace and the hours, became untenable.

This frustration with the corporate culture is also echoed in John's narrative. John is from the UK and was a director in a multinational organisation when he opted out. As he climbed the corporate ladder and got more administrative responsibilities, he no longer had time for design work, which he loved and was what had originally brought him to the organisation. He did not like the corporate politics that came with his managerial responsibilities and he became increasingly demotivated. After a long period of soul searching and thinking about what he should do, he finally resigned and got a job as a designer with no managerial or administrative responsibilities at another organisation. Taking what could be seen as a backwards step, he stepped off the career ladder and as a result felt happier than he had felt in a long time. He comments,

> [O]rganisations that . . . don't understand common sense, that cannot adapt to common sense, really is frustrating. You've got people who get frustrated because it's not going the way they want so the toys fall out of the pram . . . rather than actually looking at what they need to achieve they worry about . . . each individual step of the process and cannot get the grasp of a bigger picture on certain things because it's all sort of about personal ego and looking the best all the time and . . . winning. It needs to be winning for the right reason if you see what I mean. Sometimes there's a lot more of 'me' winning than 'us' winning [. . .] The lack of common sense, the management by fear . . . it just wasn't where I wanted to be. (John, 45, UK)

Just like in Matti's case, it was not only the long hours and the expectation of 24/7 availability that was difficult, it was also the organisational culture. John felt frustrated by the individualistic nature of work and what he thought of as childish and irrational behaviour on the part of some of his colleagues. He struggled to find meaning in his work, which he had not gotten from climbing the corporate ladder. On the contrary, it had taken him away from doing what he loved – being a designer. He had been promoted to a top managerial position and the politics and administration that came with that made his work feel meaningless.

2 Unethical Treatment of Others

For some of the men in my data set, the disenchantment was not about how they themselves had been treated or about the lack of meaning in their work, it was rather about witnessing how others were treated in or by their organisations. For Rick in the US, for example, it was witnessing how his wife had been discriminated against and sexually harassed in the industry where he worked. He was a lawyer and worked in a very male dominated industry. He claimed that he never really loved being a lawyer; rather than prompted by his feeling passionate about law, his decision to become a lawyer was based on his idea of it being a prestigious profession with the possibility of making good money. Rick opted out of his career as a lawyer to start teaching, and although he still works, his wife is now the main breadwinner in their family. His decision to leave was largely based on having witnessed how his wife had been badly treated:

> [I]t was a very male oriented . . . industry [. . .] she was the only woman there and they just drank and they drank until it was time to get the last train . . . and that was the first indication that they really didn't want to talk to my wife [. . .] she wasn't treated really as a peer, she wasn't treated as a lawyer so that was probably part of me seeing you know the end in a sense . . . I didn't know it then but this was like I wasn't ever going to fit in.
>
> (Rick, 54, US)

When I interviewed Rick, he talked at length about his wife's experiences, and it was clear how disillusioned and disturbed he felt by what she had gone through. He mentioned a job interview she had been to where the male interviewer had acted very inappropriately towards her. He describes it as a defining moment when he knew that working as a lawyer simply was not for him:

> [A]nd he goes . . . I can imagine you dancing on my desk with nothing but a rose in your mouth. [How] women are treated differently even though she has equal [or] better qualifications than I did, you know [it] became very apparent to me. (Rick, 54, US)

Topi in Finland was also concerned with the treatment of others, although it was not specifically an issue of gender. He felt that the employees in his company – in one department in particular – were treated unethically. He was a senior manager before opting out and it was one of the main issues behind his decision to leave and retrain as a paramedic:

> Their working space was quite inhuman, they were jammed into a very small space and I had been talking about it for a long time [about how] this is completely impossible. They had to call clients from there . . . and the acoustics . . . I had been saying for a long time that we have to find a solution, we have to find money in the budget . . . so they can

> physically have more space . . . I got the feeling that sometimes you keep animals better than that; horses have more space in their stables. (Topi, 48, Finland)

He had also noticed that employees were discriminated against because of their age and felt that the organisation took advantage of their situations:

> [P]eople whose careers were at the point that they were of an age where they couldn't really change [jobs] anymore . . . they wouldn't have found anything . . . I think that was one of the reasons they were treated the way they were and the young [employees] who were recruited on a temporary basis even though they should have gotten a fixed contract . . . Often they left and felt that neither they nor their work was valued by management, who at the same time got big bonuses. (Topi, 48, Finland)

The final straw for Topi was when his superior wanted him to fire one of his subordinates on what he felt were unethical grounds. He just could not do it. Soon after, he handed in his letter of resignation.

3 Difficulties Coping with the Pressure

In addition to the disillusionment many of the men experienced, there was also an internal struggle to cope with the pressure that came with the job. This included pressures associated with performance and responsibility and thus went beyond the hectic pace and extreme hours described above. For Kasper in Finland, for example, the higher up he climbed on the career ladder, the more he realised he wasn't comfortable doing what was expected of him. He explained that when he graduated from high school, his decision regarding what to study was very much based on prestige, earning potential and what his friends were choosing to do. He did not spend a lot of time thinking about the type of person he was and what he really wanted. When he graduated, he started working for a management consulting firm and at first, he liked the job. He liked working on projects. However, the higher up in the corporate hierarchy he climbed, the more he had to focus on sales – on finding and recruiting new clients:

> [It] started feeling like the work as such is fun but I don't really have the energy to do it on these terms . . . 150% . . . and then as I came higher up on the career ladder . . . there was an expectation at every step . . . there was more focus on sales and correspondingly less focus on project work . . . With this last promotion . . . it became quite clear. (Kasper, 42, Finland)

He defined himself as an introvert, and sales work was just not something he was comfortable doing. At the same time, he had issues with what was being offered to prospective clients. He felt uncomfortable if they were promised things

that he did not think his organisation would actually be able to deliver. It came to a point when he felt compelled to withdraw an offer right before signing as he was convinced that his company would not be able to live up to their end of the deal. As a result, the company lost the client. It was not looked upon kindly and he was taken off the project, which was bad for his record and a shock to him. It was what kick-started his opting out and in process. He explains,

> "There was another . . . sales case that I led and there was great pressure . . . like what can we promise . . . this is the dilemma in the consultancy world. You sell services that aren't always easy to define and sometimes you have to sell something, promise a certain result without really knowing how you will be able to do it. There was . . . very much uncertainty [. . .] and finally I backed out as I didn't really dare promise what they wanted . . . there was great pressure, mental pressure in the process . . . I felt I have to be mentally stronger to survive the pressure. (Kasper, 42, Finland)

For Kasper the pressure and uncertainly simply became too much. Peter from Finland also had trouble coping with the pressure, although it was of a different nature from that which Kasper experienced. Unlike Kasper, he did not define himself as an introvert, but in the interview, he gave an impression of being quite shy and sensitive. His speech was hesitant from time to time, especially when recounting experiences that clearly were difficult for him to talk about. Peter started working as a trader right out of business school. He was successful and made large amounts of money for his clients, but the pressure and the risk of losing everything and being liable was more than he could handle:

> The more responsibility I got, the more I noticed I felt sick in the mornings and I got easily stressed [. . .] I decided to do it . . . on a much smaller scale and by myself [in my own company] . . . I don't have to make loads and loads [of money], my goal is to have a moderate salary and more free time, be with my family and not have that stress so that I need to wake up in the morning and go by the bathroom and vomit, which I did for eight [years]. Every morning I felt sick. I didn't always vomit but I always felt sick in the mornings. (Peter, 40, Finland)

After Peter opted out, he set up his own business and started working on a much smaller scale with substantially less risk. Although he misses the comradery, he does not regret his decision. He makes a moderate amount of money, nothing like he made before, but he and his family can live comfortably. He does not feel a need to make the kind of money he made before, or to be successful according to objective definitions of success (see Ng et al. 2005). It is not as important as his wellbeing, and he now feels both safer and happier. He keeps in touch with his former colleagues, and they have, on several occasions, asked him if he wants to come back, but his answer is always 'no'.

Tom in the UK also worked at an investment bank when he opted out. Like Peter, he came to a point when the pressure became too much to handle.

However, unlike Peter, Max was not a trader; he had a top managerial position in the organisational hierarchy. His career had gone from strength to strength; outwardly everything seemed to be going well. However, he had been dreaming about doing something else for years. He and his wife had talked about it, but he had never acted on that dream:

> We've had conversations over the years . . . I was really close about 10 years ago to train to be a therapist so this interest in people and this sort of desire to help . . . had been lingering around for a while . . . and she'd often go if you want to do it just do it . . . and then no no yeah yeah it got better at work . . . (Tom, 43, UK)

The threshold to make a major change like opting out is very high as it entails leaving the known for the unknown. It was not until the company went through a process of change that was especially stressful, that he finally decided that he needed to do something about his situation. He had seen what stress could to someone and he realised that it just was not worth it:

> The push factor was getting out of that environment and part of me just wanted to run away from the whole thing [. . .] I'm not enjoying my job and I can't do it anymore, I really cannot do it and I don't want to turn out like my brother [who had a breakdown due to work exhaustion]. (Tom, 43, UK)

When he finally did opt out, he started retraining as a nutritionist and has since set up his own business. Although it has not been an easy transition and he struggles to get his company on its feet, his new lifestyle provides him with meaning. He feels like he is finally where he is meant to be. He comments: "So I know now what my purpose in life is, why I'm on this planet" (Tom, 43, UK).

This is common among individuals who have opted out and in (Biese 2017). On the one hand, the feeling of authenticity is the result of the soul searching, the crisis and the opting out process, but it is also a result of the coherence and sense of authenticity that comes from creating solutions for work where they feel they have more control over their work and lives (Biese and McKie 2015). As a result of the opting out debate focusing only on women who leave to become stay-at-home mothers, one misconception many have about opting out is that when individuals opt out they leave the workforce altogether. Most of the individuals I have interviewed – both men and women – could not afford to stop working altogether, nor did they want to. The amount of work was not necessarily the main issue either. The issue was rather a feeling of not having control over their lives and their time. They lacked the ability to control where, when and how they worked and where, when and how they spent time with family or focused on other aspects of their lives that were important to them (Biese 2017; Biese and Choroszewicz 2018).

In his interview, Kasper eloquently sums this up:

> I think the amount of work is secondary. The primary factors are the conditions under which you work, the relationships to others, and what is expected of you and how it is communicated. Is one constantly under threat, does one constantly have the feeling that one can't handle it? (Kasper, 42, Finland)

Discussion and Conclusion

The men in my study opted out of mainstream ways of doing careers to live and work on different terms. With the exception of two of the US men who became stay-at-home fathers without plans to re-enter the workforce in the future, the men adopted new ways of working which allowed them to work on their own terms and create their own definitions of what it means to be successful. For those with children, this included being able to be more involved in their lives, and many of those who did not have children also spoke of people and relationships, which their new lifestyles gave them more time to nurture. Working according to mainstream, masculinist norms left them little time for anything other than work. For many, the extreme stress and pressure became a lot to handle, and almost all of them felt disenchanted with the culture and practices of the organisational world they decided to opt out of. As mentioned previously, the exception was two of the men in the US who became stay-at-home fathers after making a joint decision with their wives.

The disenchantment the men experienced was on two different levels. For some it was internal and had to do with difficulties coping with the pressure or lacking a sense of purpose and struggling to find meaning. For others, there was an ethical aspect where they were concerned with the treatment of others, be it employees, clients or women. The crisis they experienced pushed them to opt out, but the disenchantment they felt towards the corporate world was central in shaping their decisions regarding what they subsequently chose to opt in to instead.

A feeling of authenticity and of finally doing what they felt they were meant to do was a recurring theme in the narratives. However, the reasons behind this feeling of authenticity are complex and multifaceted. It came from achieving a sense of coherence and control, but it may also, in part, be a coping mechanism to deal with the threat to identity and masculinity, which they potentially experienced as they gave up the things that are associated with objective measures of success, like a high salary and a prestigious job title (see Ng et al. 2005). For most of the men, opting out meant making less money, which,

in turn, meant not being able to support their family or a potential future family the way they had been or would be expected to. During the interviews, this was clearly an issue and some talked about having to consider going back or rethinking their decisions due to financial reasons. This was often also the case for those who had wives with careers of their own and made more than enough money to support the family, which is illustrative of the strong foothold the breadwinner ideal still has.

The 29 interviews in my study are not enough to make any generalisations regarding men and the opting out phenomenon. However, what they do demonstrate is that men also do opt out and thus need to be included in the opting out debate, and that masculinist career models and ideals do indeed not suit all men. They provide an example of how contemporary working cultures and ideals can affect men and what this can lead to. More research needs to be done to find out how common opting out is and to understand what the long-term consequences may be. If opting out becomes more widespread in the future as some have predicted (see Mainiero and Sullivan 2006), it may potentially have an impact on organisations. More research could provide crucial information for organisations in the future, regarding how to broaden the notion of career to allow for a diversity of career paths that better suit individual wants and needs and how to change their practices in order to create sustainable work environments that will not only attract but also retain employees.

References

Ahonen, Guy, Tiina Pensola, Malin Lohela-Karlsson, and Steinar Aannaess. 2016. *The cost of illness of the working-age population in the Nordic countries in 2012 – a comparison to 1991*. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of Occupational Health.

American Psychological Association. 2015. "Stress in America: Paying with Our Health." Accessed December 20, 2018, https://www.apa.org/news/press/releases/stress/2014/stress-report.pdf.

Aumann, Kerstin, and Ellen Galinsky. 2012. "The Real "Opt-Out Revolution" and a New Model of Flexible Careers." In *Women Who Opt Out: The Debate over Working Mothers and Work-Famly Balance*, edited by Bernie D. Jones, 57–84. New York: New York University Press.

Barrentine, Pat. 1993. "Introduction: Women as Harbingers of Business Transformation." In *When the Canary Stops Singing: Women's Perspective on Transforming Business*, edited by Pat Barrentine, 9–21. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

Beck, Ulrich and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim. 2002. *Individualization*. London: Sage.

Belkin, Lisa. 2003. "The Opt-Out Revolution." *The New York Times Sunday Magazine*. October, 26.

Biese, Ingrid. 2017. *Opting out and in: On women's careers and new lifestyles*. London: Routledge.

Biese, Ingrid, and Marta Choroszewicz. 2018. "Creating Alternative Solutions for Work: Experiences of Women Managers and Lawyers in Poland and the USA." In *The 'New Normal' of Working Lives: Critical Studies in Contemporary Work and Employment*, edited by Stephanie Taylor and Susan Luckman, 309–325. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Biese, Ingrid, and Linda McKie. 2015. "Opting out and opting in: Women managers in search of balance, control and wellbeing." In *Handbook on Well-Being of Working Women*, edited by Mary L. Connerley Mary L. and Jiyun Wu, 503–516. London: Springer.

Blair-Loy, Mary. 2003. *Competing Devotions: Career and Family among Women Executives*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Borve, Hege E., and Brita Bungum. 2015. "Norwegian Working Fathers in Global Working Life." *Gender, Work and Organization* 22(4): 309–323.

Boushey, Heather. 2005. "Are Women Opting Out? Debunking the Myth." Center for Economic and Policy Research, Briefing Paper.

Boushey, Heather. 2008. "'Opting Out?' The Effect of Children on Women's Employment in the United States." *Feminist Economics* 14(1): 1–36.

Choroszewicz, Marta, and Diane-Gabrielle Tremblay. 2018. "Parental leave policy by male lawyers in Helsinki and Montreal: Professional and cultural barriers to male lawyers' use of paternity and parental leaves." *International Journal of the Legal Profession* 25(3): 303–316.

Collinson, David L., and Jeff Hearn. 1994. "Naming Men as Men: Implications for Work, Organization and Management." *Gender, Work & Organization* 1(1): 2–22.

Collinson, David L., and Jeff Hearn. 1996. "Breaking the Silence: On Men, Masculinities and Management." In *Men as Managers, Managers as Men*, edited by David Collinson and Jeff Hearn, 1–24. London: Sage.

Connell, Raewyn. 1998. "Masculinities and Globalization." *Men and Masculinities* 1(1): 3–23.

Connell, Raewyn, and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society* 19(6): 829–859.

Connell, Raewyn, and Julian Wood. 2005. "Globalization and Business Masculinities." *Men and Masculinities* 7(4): 347–364.

Cossman, Brenda. 2009. "The 'opt-out revolution' and the Changing Narratives of Motherhood: Self-governing the Work/Family Conflict." *Utah Law Review* 2: 455–474.

Cottini, Elena, and Claudio Lucifora. 2013. "Mental Health and Working Conditions in Europe." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 66(4): 958–988.

Elliott, Anthony. 2013. *Reinvention*. London: Routledge.

Elliott, Anthony and Charles Lemert. 2006. *The New Individualism- the Emotional Costs of Globalization*. London: Routledge.

Eurostat. 2016. "Gender statistics." *Eurostat Statistics Explained*. (2016) accessed June 18 http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Gender_statistics#Labour_market.

Ganster, Daniel C., and Christopher C. Rosen. 2013. "Work Stress and Employee Health: A Multidisciplinary Review." *Journal of Management* 39(5): 1085–1122.

Greenhaus, Jeffrey H., Gerard A. Callanan, and Veronica M. Godshalk. 2010. *Career Management, 4th edition*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Hearn, Jeff, and Rebecca Piekkari. 2005. "Gendered Leaderships and Leaderships on Gender Policy: National Context, Corporate Structures, and Chief Human Resource Managers in Transnational Corporations." *Leadership* 1(4): 429–454.

Hobson, Barbara, Susanne Fahlén, and Judit Takács. 2011. "Agency and Capabilities to Achieve a Work-Life Balance: A Comparison of Sweden and Hungary." *Social Politics* 18(2): 168–198.

Hollway, Wendy, and Tony Jefferson. 2000. *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: Free Association, Narrative and the Interview Method*. London: Sage.
Hoyer, Patrizia, and Chris Steyaert. 2015. "Narrative identity construction in times of career change: Taking note of unconscious desires." *Human Relations* 68(12): 1837–1863.
Jones, Bernie D. 2012. "Introduction: Women, Work, and Motherhood in American History." In *Women Who Opt Out: The Debate over Working Mothers and Work-Family Balance*, edited by Bernie D. Jones, 3–30. New York: New York University Press.
Jyrkinen, Marjut, and Linda McKie. 2012. "Gender, age and ageism: experiences of women managers in Finland and Scotland." *Work, employment and society* 26: 61–77.
Kelly Global Workforce Index. 2014. "A World at Work: Workers Across the Globe Talk Trends, Attitudes and Workplace Performance." Accessed September 27, 2015, http://www.kellyservices.us/uploadedFiles/7-KellyOCG/2-Knowledge/Workforce_Trends/A_World_At_Work.pdf.
Kinser, Amber E. 2010. *Motherhood and Feminism*. Berkeley: Seal Press.
Mainiero, Lisa A., and Sherry E. Sullivan. 2006. *The Opt-Out Revolt: Why People are Leaving Companies to Create Kaleidoscope Careers*. Mountain View: Davies Black Publishing.
McKie, Linda, Ingrid Biese, and Marjut Jyrkinen. 2013. "'The Best Time is Now!': The Temporal and Spatial Dynamics of Women Opting in to Self-employment." *Gender, Work and Organization* 20(2): 184–196.
McKie, Linda, and Samantha Callan. 2012. *Understanding Families: A Global Introduction*. London: Sage.
Ng, Thomas W.H., Lillian T. Eby, Kelly L. Sorensen, and Daniel C. Feldman. 2005. "Predictors of Objective and Subjective Career Success: A Meta-Analysis." *Personnel Psychology* 58: 367–408.
Pajumets, Marion, and Jeff Hearn. 2012. "Post- Socialist Fathers "at Home" and "Away from Home" in "Old Europe": Facing the Challenge Through Masculine Identity Talk." *Studies of Transition States and Societies* 4(1): 31–47.
Percheski, Christine. 2008. "Opting Out? Cohort Differences in Professional Women's Employment Rates from 1960 to 2005." *American Sociological Review* 73(3): 497–517.
Pfeffer, Jeffrey. 2018. *Dying for a Paycheck: How Modern Management Harms Employee Health and Company Performance – and What We Can Do About It*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.
Schreuder, Dries, and Melinde Coetzee. 2006. *Careers: An Organisational Perspective*, *3rd edition*. Lansdowne: Juta & Co. Ltd.
Sennett, Richard. 2006. *The Culture of the New Capitalism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Slaughter, Anne-Marie. 2012. "Why Women Still Can't Have It All." *The Atlantic*, July/August. Accessed December 20, 2018. http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/07/why-women-still-cant-have-it-all/309020/.
Still, Mary C. 2006. "The Opt-Out Revolution in the United States: Implications for Modern Organizations." *Managerial and Decision Economics* 27(2–3): 159–171.
Stone, Pamela. 2007. *Opting Out? Why Women Really Quit Their Careers and Head Home*. Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Tinsley, Catherine H., Taeya M. Howell, and Emily T. Amantullah. 2015. "Who Should Bring Home the Bacon? How Deterministic Views of Gender Constrain Wage Preferences." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 126: 37–48.

Williams, Joan C., Jessica Manvell, and Stephanie Bornstein. 2006. "'Opt-Out' or Pushed Out?: How the Press Covers Work/Family Conflict'." *WorkLifeLaw Report*. San Francisco: UC Hastings College of the Law.

Zenger, Jack, and Joseph Folkman. 2014. "Why Middle Managers Are So Unhappy." *Harvard Business Review*, November 25. Accessed December 20, 2018. https://hbr.org/2014/11/why-middle-managers-are-so-unhappy.

Zimmerman, Lauren M., and Malissa A. Clark. 2016. "Opting-out and opting-in: a review and agenda for future research." *Career Development International* 21: 603–606.

Cathy Leogrande

3 Those Who Can't, Teach: Representations and Challenges of Male Teachers

Abstract: Films and television have provided us with countless images of men who teach. However, research shows that this is at odds with their relative absence from schools and in 'real' classrooms. This chapter explores why these numerous positive media-representations do not necessarily change the perception that teaching is generally seen as a career unsuitable or undesirable for men. Shared ideas of the characteristics that make teaching fulfilling and honourable live side by side in our collective perceptions as a result of media images of inspirational saviours and bumbling educators. Although these positive teacher images may contribute to men's decisions to explore teaching as a career, many of them reconsider when harsh realities show the limits of these idealised portrayals. The strong connection between masculinity and the notion of the modern 'career' also has a role to play in men's absence from a profession that somehow fails to be represented as a 'real' career for men. The necessity and demands of teacher preparation along with greater accountability and less autonomy combine to discourage many of those who consider education from completing programs and entering the field. Teacher educators and others must acknowledge that unrealistic media representations and existing obstacles and challenges do not necessarily have to result in fewer male teachers. An open discussion about what it really means to be a male teacher, with support and rewards, can counter the doubts and help them understand that teaching is a career for competent, caring men.

Introduction

> I stand upon my desk to remind myself that we must constantly look at things in a different way (Dead Poets' Society 1989)

Who doesn't remember Robin Williams as Mr. Keating, the charismatic teacher in *Dead Poets' Society*, who energises a room full of disaffected boys, inspiring them to – eventually – salute them as their 'captain'? The silver screen (and its smaller cousin, the television) have provided us with countless images of men who teach. Despite their relative absence in schools and in 'real' classrooms, men have been visibly present as teachers in television shows since the 1950s (Dalton

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-004

and Linder 2008, 21). However, as this chapter will show, these numerous media-representations do not necessarily change the perception that teaching is generally seen as a career unsuitable or undesirable for men. Previous research has formulated a number of reasons for men's reluctance to consider teaching as a career choice (such as the low pay-grade, or the doubt expressed over men's lack of caring abilities), but in the sections below I will propose to 'look at things in a different way', and consider how the strong connection between masculinity and the notion of the modern 'career' also has a role to play in men's absence from a profession that somehow fails to be represented as a 'real' career.

Images such as those of the fictional Mr. Keating are important in reflecting on the representation of teaching as a profession and career because, as various researchers have pointed out, film and television programs that include teacher characters have an impact on society's perceptions of educators (Ambrosetti 2016; Fisher, Harris and Jarvis 2008; Rich 2016). These representations can help encourage individuals to pursue a teaching career or reinforce a stereotype that teaching is a low-status low-ability occupation for men who have limited choices. Media images are important texts that help us construct concepts about the world. Dalton (2017b) describes film in popular culture as an "important and often overlooked source of social knowledge" (3), and in my study I will rely on Dalton and Linder's (2008) work on repeated patterns of representation in films and television programs with teacher characters to focus particularly on how men who teach are pictured in these media. I will reflect on the returning portrayals of 'Good' and 'Bad' teachers in the ways in which they represent men and bring these images into a conversation with not only existing research on men's presence (or more often absence) in the teaching profession, but also with the experiences and remarks of a group of men enrolled in certification programs at a small private liberal arts college.

In bringing together an analysis of mediatised representations and the experiences of 'real' (prospective) men in teaching roles, this article examines the image of men who choose teaching as a career in order to answer two main questions. Firstly, it asks how teaching is represented as a 'career' in film and television and in society at large and how the intrinsically gendered notion of 'career' is applied to the teaching profession. Secondly, it attempts to show how teachers' education training – in which institutionalised 'credentials' are seen as an important part of the teacher's career path – enters into a difficult dialogue with cultural images of both the 'Good' and 'Bad' teacher particularly when men enter their programmes.

In what follows, I first describe common representations and understandings of teaching as a career: the first section does so in a general social sense, the second section focuses on representations of teaching as a career for male characters in movies and television series, using Dalton's 'Hollywood model' as

an organising framework. Based on these two introductory sections, the text interweaves (mediatised) representations, experiences, and expressed discourses on choosing teaching as a career in order to examine the ways in which these representations and realities influence each other. In the third section I introduce the results of a small study using written assignments and reflections along with selected interviews and discuss whether media representations of male teachers play a role in prospective teachers' career decisions and their perception of self. In the fourth and final section, I examine how the cultural images conveyed through the 'Hollywood model' influence development of professional identity for male preservice teachers. The text concludes by describing how media portrayals of men teachers can impact and shape the realities of teaching as a career path for men and describes current issues in helping prospective men teachers do a better job of integrating their perceptions of themselves as the teachers to which they aspire while reconciling it with the realities of the work.

Is Teaching a (Desirable) Career?

Teaching as a career for both genders is on the decline in the United States. The number of bachelor's degrees conferred in education declined by 15 percent between 2005 and 2006 and 2014 and 2015, while the number of bachelor's degrees conferred across all other major fields increased over that period (Will 2018). Since 2006, the overall number of bachelor's degrees awarded by US colleges and universities has increased by 29 percent, but education has seen a historic decrease of 19 percent, resulting in the lowest number of education graduates since 1986 (Nietzel 2019). In a 2016 national survey of college freshmen, the number of students who say they will major in education has reached its lowest point in 45 years at about 4 percent (Flannery 2016). Despite predictions that a shortage of teachers is a looming crisis, the numbers indicate that the demand is not enough to entice young people to enter the profession (Rich 2014; Sutcher, Darling-Hammond and Carver-Thomas 2016).

For men in particular, teaching as a career choice has been in decline for much longer. The history of the 'feminisation' of teaching is well-documented globally, showing that the increasingly prevalent idea that teaching was akin to 'caring' and therefore intrinsically feminine, made it less attractive as a career for men from the nineteenth century onward (Brophy and Good 1973; Drudy 2008; Strober and Tyack 1980; Wong 2019). Griffiths (2006) examined the complexity of this issue. She explored "different and competing understandings of 'feminization'" as referring to both the numbers of women in teaching as well as the culture

associated with women (387). Whilst the popularity of teaching as a career for men in the United States waxed and waned throughout the twentieth century – with the space race and the opportunity to coach in school athletics drawing them in, and educational reforms toward higher bureaucracy pushing them out – they have remained a minority among teachers, particularly in primary teaching. The National Centre for Education Statistics (2018) compared characteristics of teachers over a period from 1999/00 to 2015/16. There was a 27 percent increase in the total number of teachers. However, the number of male teachers decreased. Despite the increase in elementary teachers by 19 percent, the number of male teachers at that level decreased from 11 percent to 10 percent. The total number of secondary teachers increased by 37 percent, but the number of male teachers at that level dropped from 43 percent to 36 percent during the same period. This is not true in other traditionally feminised occupations, such as nursing. As Aaron Loewenberg (2017) writes, "[m]ale nurses were as rare as male early educators just a few decades ago. Since 1970, however, the number of male nurses has tripled as the stigma has started to fade and more men have found a growing and vibrant vocation in nursing" (6). While more men are comfortable choosing nursing as a career as perceptions of the work shift, there has not been a similar change in education, where the number of men has been fairly static or decreased.

This seems to be at least partly due to the common representation of teaching as not a profession at all, but rather a simple extension of a number of character traits that are perceived not only as intrinsically feminine but also as 'easy'. This erodes the concept of 'career' as a positive choice for life's work. The idea that 'those who can't, teach' is surprisingly persistent despite the higher standards of preparation and accountability to which today's teachers are increasingly held. As a result of both this 'feminine' nature of the work and low status reputation of teaching, men considering a career in education are often met with either suspicion or encouraged to be 'more ambitious' and seek out a different career. Traits of effective teachers such as empathy and support for socioemotional growth remain seen by parents and society as associated with maternal skills and attributed to women on the basis of biological gender-based traits. Many see teachers as basically babysitters or mothers with curriculum. This perception is not one that is associated with a respected career, especially for men. Various choices and behaviours are used to combat the "persistent image of immaturity and incompetence which perpetuated the notion that teaching was a mere station for men and women intent on bigger and better things in life" (Rury 1989, 11).

Paul Sargent (2001) exposed the difficulties male teachers have negotiating their own masculine identity while carrying out their ideas of effective teaching. These men chose teaching knowing the importance of nurturing and showing care for students' wellbeing as well as their cognitive achievements. However, they

receive subtle and overt messages about their masculine identity as it relates to their work and choice of teaching as a career (Skelton 2003). A male teacher who enacts 'softer' traits he sees as a necessary part of his role may find himself under increased scrutiny and suspicion (Haase 2008; Sargent 2005). His very success as a teacher may in fact challenge traditional notions of both masculinity and ambition. His classroom behaviour may be in direct opposition to standard perceptions of masculinity in which men are expected to be strong, unemotional, sensible and pragmatic. Paradoxically, perceived natural masculine traits may be seen as positive in terms of discipline. Male teachers are often given unruly or problem students based on an assumption that they will be more of a disciplinarian and better equipped to handle these students, who are often boys (Hjalmarsson and Löfdahl 2014). Men get mixed messages as to how they must behave in such a gendered career. The male teachers in Sargeant's study spoke about the blurry line between subtle and overt messages, and between demands and expectations. Male teachers thus find themselves in a dilemma with few options.

This idea of questioning the choices of men to choose a career that is focused on work with children is deeply embedded in the school culture and difficult to change. This is directly related to changing norms for masculinity (Jones 2007; Kalokerinos, Kjelsaas, Bennetts and von Hippel 2017; Malaby and Ramsey 2011). At a time when social roles are shifting for parents to include stay-at-home fathers and calls are being made to help boys form less traditional and more inclusive and sensitive perceptions of what it means to be a man, we still expect male teachers to act in ways that meet traditional ideas of masculinity. Men who elect teaching as a career with a desire to reshape and challenge traditional gender roles for their students through their work may struggle with the responses from parents and administrators and even student themselves (Sargeant 2001, 164). Martino (2008) discussed how the call for more male teachers as role models "forecloses any critical discussion about the dynamics of gender and sexuality sustaining the heteronormative definitions of what constitutes a sex role model and, more specifically, what version of masculinity is being advocated" (194). Male teachers may act in ways that reinforce traditional gender images for boys in order to meet the expectations of others regarding their career choice. They also live with tensions between their desire to form relationships with their students in order to be effective while staying above suspicion. It is no wonder that a career fraught with such contradictions is not drawing more men.

Media Representations of Teachers: The Hollywood Model

Representations of teachers in cinema and on television subscribe to a similar narrative: even though the 'feminine' aspects of the teacher's role are not always underlined, what is repeated across multiple programs and movies is the notion that education is a 'natural' skill, and not a profession requiring specialised knowledge and skills. Media examples abound of individuals who do not hold certification, did not originally plan to become teachers, have never taken a course designed to provide pedagogical knowledge and skills and yet are effective in the classroom. When these men (somehow) obtain positions as teachers, they inevitably succeed in the end. This may be the result of instinctive greatness (such as Jaime Escalante in *Stand and Deliver*) or inspiring performances (such as John Keating). Improvement is never the result of traditional methods of acquiring pedagogical skills such as professional learning. A striking example – and one often mentioned by pre-service teachers when asked to name films with men who teach – is *Kindergarten Cop* (Reitman 1998). In one of the few portrayals of a man teaching primary grades, Arnold Schwarzenegger plays Mr. Kimble, who despite his police training and experience is initially unable to handle a classroom of five-year olds. Without any real help or guidance, and no study or coursework, he becomes highly effective and beloved by children and parents. These films support the notion that anyone can teach because it is easy work and can be learned quickly on the job. This is coupled with numerous examples of certified and 'qualified' teachers who are ineffective and boring. No other career is depicted as one in which preparation and study are unnecessary as long as one is inspirational and charismatic.

The Hollywood model (Dalton 2017b) is an overall framework for describing media representations of good and bad teachers. Within this model, the 'Good Teacher' reinforces these views of teaching as a career easily accessible to anyone rather than a choice that demands years of learning and experience. The Good Teacher may have a background in something else, but he is instinctively able to become a great teacher. Mr. Holland in *Mr. Holland's Opus* enters the profession as a back-up when he cannot find a job. Jaime Escalante in *Stand and Deliver* leaves his lucrative job in industry to teach poor students in the *barrio*. Dewey Finn in *School of Rock* poses as a substitute music teacher at a private school. These films support the notion that anyone can teach because it is easy work and learned quickly on the job. Other traits of the Good Teacher include personal involvement with students and providing a personalised curriculum. These teachers value good teaching and making a difference in the lives of their

students above all else. They sometimes bend or break the rules, even to the point of losing their job, as in Mr. Keating's case. The cinematic image is of a heroic teacher, often sacrificing his personal life for the needs of his students and the demands of the fight for what is right (Carter 2009; Fisher, Harris and Jarvis 2008; Farhi 1999). While the Good Teacher is an emotionally uplifting character, he is an impossible ideal that helps undermine the career choice for real, ordinary men. A man without the charisma and instinctive skills who studies and comes to teaching through a traditional path must have selected the career as a back-up plan or because of limited ability or options.

Television shows add to the basic images of Good Teachers. Many have mostly male teachers as main characters despite the reality that women are drastically more prominent in actual classrooms (Dalton and Linder 2008, 21). In addition, these portrayals reinforce the idea of teaching as a low paying, low status job for those who are not that smart. *Welcome Back, Kotter* had Gabe Kotter as a history teacher who returns to his former high school in Brooklyn. No references are made to his teacher preparation and it is unclear if he is certified. He teaches a group of remedial students known as the Sweathogs (a group of which he was a member himself during his years at the school, reinforcing the notion of limited intelligence). Mr. Kotter and his wife struggle financially because of his low salary (making him question his career choice as inadequate to support his family like a real man). The portrayal is realistic, but not one that might inspire other men to seek such a low paying, low status job. *Breaking Bad* presented a dramatic image of the negative aspects of teaching as a career for men. Walter White, a high school chemistry teacher is "passionate about his subject and eager to engage students with classroom experiments" (Dalton and Linder 2008, 148). He turns to drug dealing because of his need for money in the face of terminal cancer. White is shown taking a demeaning job at a car wash where his students are customers, one of the most tragic media depictions of the impact of low teacher salaries. Even Good Teachers perpetuate negative images of teaching as a career choice for men.

The 'Bad Teacher' is a sharp contrast but just as easily identified. The main fault is lack of effective pedagogy, despite their more traditional path to the classroom that supposedly included meeting high requirements for licensure. In *Ferris Bueller's Day Off*, Ben Stein portrays an economics teacher whose monotone and boring delivery of content have become a popular culture trope. Bad Teachers are generally more interested in following the rules, which is seen as a bad thing because the rules are not in the best interest of students and learning. They deliver instruction and test students in ways that set them up for failure. They are seen as cogs in a machine, individuals who do not question their effectiveness and remain stagnant across their careers. Bad Teachers rarely have sanctions imposed by

colleagues, parents or administrators. Students seem to put up with their incompetence or slyly get around their authority. Some Bad Teachers struggle initially, and then become good, even great, teachers. However, this is usually due to some personal epiphany and independent work and rarely due to mentoring or professional development (Ambrosetti 2016; Raimo, Devlin-Scherer and Zinicola 2002).

Media portrayals contribute strong messages to our shared cultural concept of what it means to be a man in education. What are prospective male teachers to make of real and media messages? Teaching as a career choice for men remains a contradiction. As a gendered occupation, concepts of masculinity are at times in opposition to the expected traits of an effective teacher. As a career option, teaching is still questioned when compared to other fields in which more money and more status are the norm. The belief that effective male teachers rely on personal heroism rather than rigorous preparation and high-level knowledge continues the perception that teaching is an easy job for those with less ability and ambition and who are content to settle for this. Anyone can do it, so why would a smart, dynamic man make that choice? Reality and representation create a perception, reinforced through life in schools and media images, that does not make teaching an appealing career choice for men.

Real Men don't Need Credentials?

The exploratory study discussed below took place at a small private college in the Northeast United States. Enrolment at this institution is approximately 2,400 undergraduate and 2,000 graduate students in over 40 majors and degree programs. The teacher certification program has been preparing teachers at the undergraduate level since the 1980s. Education is not an academic major; students complete a major in another area (such as psychology or history) and also complete coursework and fieldwork to become certified as a teacher. The graduate teacher certification programs began in 1995, and the program graduated over 150 teachers each year at both levels for all secondary content areas as well as elementary and special education and Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). The number of teachers prepared began to decline during the recession in 2008. Teacher layoffs and changing demographics have impacted teacher education across the state. During the last five years, approximately 50 new teachers have graduated annually at both undergraduate and graduate levels for elementary and secondary licensure. The program was recently revised. There has been an increase in the number of hours of field experience required. Students are placed in area classrooms for practicum experiences

and opportunities to apply course concepts and skills. The number of credit hours were reduced, and the program is offered in an accelerated (five semester) format. All classes are held in the evening, so that career changers and working adults can access the program. The overall intention is to make the program more attractive and amenable to prospective teachers at all levels, while maintaining the rigorous requirements required for licensure.

During the 2018/19 academic year, data was collected on all students as part of ongoing accreditation efforts. (All teacher education programs in this state are required to hold national accreditation as a measure of quality.) A variety of written data was collected as the basis for faculty discussion as well as assessment of program and course learning outcomes (Peck, McDonald and Davis 2015). These include growth in knowledge base of effective teaching and application of pedagogical skills as well as development of a professional identity. The focus of this surface analysis is presented here. Pre-service teachers are asked to write about their motivation for this career choice and reflect on specific field experiences during courses. All students who elect to leave the program are asked to complete an informal exit conversation regarding the nature of their decision. Qualitative data in the form of essays, assignments, class activities and notes from these conversations were analysed for patterns and issues that should be addressed at the program level. In addition, quantitative data related to retention and attrition were also collected. A number of students left the program for various reasons. While we sought information on all non-completers, we became especially interested in exploring the reasons men left in light of calls for greater male role models and the disparity in numbers in different certification areas.

In Fall 2018, 25 graduate students entered the program (the only start point for graduates). Nine sought secondary level certification (six men) and 16 sought elementary level certification (five men). Over the year, five students left and four of these were men (two elementary and two secondary). Both secondary students obtained teaching positions despite not holding certification. The elementary woman had been working as a teacher assistant in a school, had a problem situation with a student and was forced to resign. One elementary man left because of health reasons. The other left because he felt he had an unrealistic view of the nature and amount of work involved in teaching. The semester began with 11 men out of 25 graduate students (44%) and ended with seven out of 20 (35%). The program lost five students, but four of the five (80%) were men. That same semester, 37 undergraduate students continued in the program as juniors. Nine sought secondary certification (two men) and 31 sought elementary level certification (two men). Over the year, seven students left, all women. These students expressed the same concerns regarding the nature and amount of work as well as alternate career choices. The semester began with

three men out of 37 undergraduate students (8%) and ended with three out of 30 (10%). The program lost seven students, but none were men.

In Spring 2019, 21 undergraduates entered the program. five sought secondary level certification (four men) and 16 sought elementary level certification (two men). Over the year, six students left and four of these were men (one elementary and three secondary). One elementary man left because of health reasons. All three secondary men expressed concerns related to the dissonance between their perception of the work of teaching and their previously held expectations. The semester began with six men out of 24 undergraduate students (25%) and ended with two out of 18 (11%). The program lost six students, but four of the six (83%) were men. The difference overall in undergraduates seeking secondary certification is troubling. In Fall 2019, there will be nine undergraduate (senior) secondary student teachers (two men). In Fall 2020 there will only be two (one man). Overall, 18 of 86 students left the program (21%) but eight of those 18 were men (44%).

Qualitative data included application essays that are part of admission to the program, and reflections on field placement experiences. Pre-service teachers (men and women) spent hours each week in classrooms teaching lessons, working with students and observing a host teacher. Assignments asked them to analyse different aspects of teaching and learning and connect concepts from class discussion on learning theory and effective pedagogical skills. Class activities and assignments included two which ask them to reflect on a memorable teacher from their life experience and from media representations and discuss the skills they exhibited in light of the course information. When the data from written activities, journals and essays were examined for patterns (across students of both genders), one overarching teacher archetype emerged: the inspirational teacher. Real teachers were most often described by words related to rigorousness and holding high standards. They demanded excellence, often requiring the students to put in more effort for learning than other teachers. In terms of media images, 61 of all 86 students (71%) described one or more of the same four film teachers: John Keating from *Dead Poets' Society*; Jaime Escalante from *Stand and Deliver*; Glenn Holland from *Mr. Holland's Opus*; and Erin Gruwell from *Freedom Writers*. The reasons for the selections were all related to inspiration and the resulting motivation, causing students to want to achieve at a high standard. Descriptions of both real and mediatised teachers were similar. These same sentiments were described in reflections on practicum experience, in which host teachers were described as hard working and dedicated to students, or in some cases, seeming not to care. Finally, a similar theme was evident in application essays, in which prospective teachers expressed a

desire to make a difference in the lives of their students and being remembered as 'a teacher who helped them be their best'.

This study is limited, since data were collected as part of exploration and formative assessment of a small specific teacher education program undergoing revision and transition. A more focused study with specific research questions related to development of preservice teachers' professional identity is planned based on the research discussed in the following section. These findings do not in any way allow for discernment between men and women pre-service teachers, but it is an interesting preliminary step in exploring possible differences between the two groups in future research. It appears that media images can serve as a tool to interrogate many aspects of teacher identity development and motivation for career choice for both genders. As expressed by others (Carter 2009; Farhi 1999; Shoffner 2016), the heroic teacher found in media representations is often a foundational component of student-teachers' construction of their own burgeoning teacher identity. Although these fictional teachers are unrealistic in many ways, they are also part of the attraction to pre-service teachers of this career, helping them see possibilities and benefits of the profession (Fisher, Harris and Jarvis 2008; Raimo, Devlin-Scherer and Zinicola 2002; Weber and Mitchell 1995). Media representations of male teachers in particular are intended to stick with viewers, and they do. They show the potential of a dedicated adult in the lives of children and young adults. Unfortunately, these images may be part of the dissonance students feel when they encounter the workload of actual teaching. Teacher candidates dream of being that crazy and different kind of teacher; the outside the box thinker dreaming the impossible and making it happen; a teacher no student will ever forget, just like John Keating and Glenn Holland.

Media Influence on Prospective Male Teachers' Professional Identity

Concerns arise from examining existing research, current statistics, and information from this exploratory study regarding men choosing teaching as a career. Media images of the Good Teachers described in the Hollywood model make teaching seem easy, and dependent on personality and charisma rather than specialised preparation and enormous amounts of difficult work. This appears to contribute as a factor to the limited number of men who choose teaching as a career. Even those who do may not always recognise the influence these images have on their expectations, and the tensions they feel when the

reality is not what they anticipate. Film teachers, especially men, provide indelible role models (Kirby 2016). Mary Dalton (2017a) states, "[t]he educators we've seen on-screen shape our expectations of actual teachers. And there are more of these characters than real people who have taught us" (1). McGrail and McGrail (2016) state, "[t]he problem with most film characterizations of teachers is that they create unrealisable expectations for real world teachers" (193). Farhi (1999) agrees and argues that, "by forcing them to compete with their cinematic counterparts, the superteacher myth places an impossible burden on real teachers" (157).

It is difficult to define the potential harm of images of teaching as an easy career for those with special qualities and not necessarily credentials. *Dead Poets' Society* was widely lauded when it was released. George Will (1989) stated:

> A prep-school teacher as hero? Keating is heroic, but not in the banal manner of the whip-cracking, death-defying archaeologist [Indiana] Jones. Keating's heroism is in his discipline, the purity of his devotion to his vocation. It is, for him, literally a *vocatio*, a calling. Language spoken by dead poets calls him. He will summon from some sons of the upper class a sense of the wonderful wildness of life. (74)

No mention is made of John Keating's certification or preparation. The pedagogical skills he employs, such as ripping out the front page of the required text, were most likely not something learned in an accredited teacher preparation program. The image is so indelible that when Williams died in 2014, online and real-world tributes invoked the scene of him standing on a desk reciting Whitman. Jessica Goodman (2014) called it, "the scene that inspired a generation" (1). Cultural images such as this play a powerful part in the formation of this idealised version of the teacher pre-service men in teacher education programs aspire to be. Yet they could not be further from the requirements for licensure and the ongoing struggles that are part of the preparation for these individuals who selected the profession off-screen.

Whitney, Olan and Fredricksen (2013) discussed the overvaluing of practical experience by pre-service teachers. They seem to want concrete strategies that they can use in the classroom immediately without reflection or planning. Attempts to integrate theory and knowledge meet with scorn. Classroom teachers hold the power of authority over research-based texts and assignments in their education program. Like their film role models, they do not see the need for many aspects of the required preparation. They are crafting their professional identity during pre-service courses and field experiences (Ivanova and Skara-Mincāne 2016; Rus, Tomşa, Rebega and Apostol 2013; Timoštšuk and Ugaste 2010). Prospective teachers who select education as a career hold beliefs and self-perceptions about the nature of the work and job satisfaction.

That may be in opposition to what occurs during their preparation and fieldwork. Hong (2010) explored the interaction between factors such as commitment and emotion over past present and the perceived future of pre-service teachers. Experience changed them. Pre-service teachers who completed student teaching held less idealistic views than those who had not yet been teaching in a classroom. He found that shattered perceptions of what the career genuinely entails may lead to burnout. As he stated, "[t]here might be a fine line between healthy optimism and unrealistic idealism" (1540). Media representations appear to be a factor in tensions that occur throughout teacher preparation.

Conclusion: Let's Go to the Movies

Teacher educators must accept the impact of media portrayals of male teachers. Whether consciously or not, these images appear to shape the selection and realities of teaching as a career path for men. Teacher preparation programs must make room to address underlying beliefs about male teachers in general and teaching as a career with specialised knowledge and skills for thoughtful intelligent individuals, but one which requires significant preparation and hard work. We must help prospective male teachers do a better job during their training of integrating their perceptions of themselves as the teachers to which they aspire to be while reconciling it with the realities of the work. Use of these media images and structured reflection can help prospective male teachers become a new, more realistic version of the Good Teacher.

Rather than dispute these media images, teacher educators can embrace the dissonance and use it as an opportunity for preservice male teachers to examine their developing professional identity. Several teacher educators have outlined processes by which preservice teachers can use film versions to explore the dynamic conception of what it really means to be a professional in education (Fontaine 2010; Shannon 2016; Triere 2001; Weber and Mitchell 1996). As Farhi (1999) noted about media portrayals of teachers, "[r]emarkably few day-to-day professional details are depicted" (87). Instead of finding fault with media images as appropriate sources for teacher identity, Vandermeersche, Soetaert and Rutten (2013) recommend that teacher education programs use them as a "basis for critical discussion in classes for pre-service teachers" (89). In this way, teacher educators can begin to help pre-service teachers challenge their pre-existing beliefs about teaching as a career and themselves as teachers. Once preservice male teachers' implicit beliefs are made explicit and open to discussion, they can confront the tensions between these beliefs and the reality of becoming a teacher.

Reflection that raises such conflict is not easy. Ryan and Townsend (2012) note that researchers have often been disappointed by not discovering higher levels of critical reflection by preservice teachers, even when they have used specific structured strategies such as action research and dialogue journals. Delamarter (2015) suggested that teacher preparation programs include "course-based reflective activities to provide structure and impetus for reevaluating expectations" (1). He provided an analytical framework to use popular teacher films to confront and challenge candidates' expectations of teaching. Self-reflection on a teacher's practice experiences (Delamarter 2015; Whitney, Olan and Fredrickson 2013) with follow-up discussions can help male preservice teachers explore aspects of their developing professional identity that may be hidden below the surface in teacher preparation courses and field experiences. When these men become more aware, they can be better prepared for the realities of the work and perhaps overcome the type of imbalance that can lead to dropping out (Hong 2010).

There is overwhelming evidence that fewer men seek teaching as a career. The numbers are static at best despite changes in the social construction of masculinity to include traits previously ascribed to women, and a call for male teachers as role models. The current teacher shortage should make education an attractive option. However, the hiring of uncertified individuals and alternative routes to licensure continue to promote the perception that teaching is easy, and not a career but a simple job that can be done successfully by anyone (Fraser and Lefty 2018; Redding and Smith 2016; Walker 2016). Recruitment programs for men, especially men of colour, are evolving. Smith, Mack and Akyea (2004) examined African-American male honour students' views of teaching as a career choice, and the results indicate that a "lack of career awareness, lack of positive information regarding the profession, and lack of encouragement are obstacles to students pursuing that interest. Somehow these intervening variables have become effective gatekeepers in restricting African-American male student enrolments in schools of education" (82). Teaching as a career choice for men is a complex issue and will continue to be the focus of recruitment and retention. But it remains to be seen whether efforts to increase the numbers of male teachers will have results.

This paper explored the impact of media images on the selection of teaching as a career and development of a professional identity for male teachers. Teachers are represented in myriad classrooms and media images, and as Mary Dalton (2017a) acknowledged, "[t]he media reinforces the idea that teaching is a dead-end job. Is it surprising that enthusiastic, talented individuals are reluctant to enter the field?" (1). Shared ideas of the characteristics that make teaching fulfilling and honourable live side by side in our collective perceptions as a

result of media images of inspirational saviours and bumbling educators. Although these positive teacher images may contribute to men's decisions to explore teaching as a career, many of them reconsider when harsh realities show the limits of these idealised portrayals. The necessity for and demands of teacher preparation along with greater accountability and less autonomy combine to discourage many of those who consider education after completing programs and entering the field. Teacher educators must acknowledge that unrealistic media representations and existing obstacles and challenges do not necessarily have to result in fewer male teachers. An open discussion about what it really means to be a male teacher, with support and rewards, can counter the doubts and help them understand that teaching is a career for competent, caring men.

References

Ambrosetti, Angelina. 2016. "The Portrayal of the Teacher as Mentor in Popular Film: Inspirational, Supportive and Life Changing?" *M/C Journal* 19(2).

Breaking Bad. 2008–2013. Created by Vince Gilligan. Sony Pictures Television. Television show.

Brophy, Jere E., and Thomas L. Good. 1973. "Feminization of American Elementary Schools." *Phi Delta Kappan* 54(8): 564–566.

Carter, Catherine. 2009. "Priest, Prostitute, Plumber? The Construction of Teachers as Saints." *English Education* 42(1): 61–90.

Dalton, Mary M. 2017a. "Film gives teachers credit they're due." *Winston Salem Journal*.

Dalton. Mary M. 2017b. *The Hollywood Curriculum: Teachers in the Movies*. 3rd ed. New York: Peter Lang.

Dalton, Mary M., and Laura R. Linder. 2008. *Teacher TV: Sixty Years of Teachers on Television*. New York: Peter Lang.

Dead Poets Society. 2006. Directed by Peter Weir. Burbank: Buena Vista Home Entertainment, DVD.

Delamarter, Jeremy. 2015. "Avoiding Practice Shock: Using Teacher Movies to Realign Pre-Service Teachers' Expectations of Teaching." *Australian Journal of Teacher Education* 40(2).

Drudy, Sheelagh. 2008. "Gender balance/gender bias: The teaching profession and the impact of feminisation." *Gender and Education* 20(4): 309–323.

Farhi, Adam. 1999. "Hollywood goes to school: Recognizing the superteacher myth in film." *Clearing House* 72(3): 157–159.

Ferris Bueller's Day Off. 1999. Directed by John Hughes. Hollywood: Paramount Pictures, DVD.

Fisher, Roy, Ann Harris, and Christine Jarvis. 2008. *Education in Popular Culture: Telling Tales on Teachers and Learners*. New York: Routledge.

Flannery, Mary Ellen. 2016. "Survey: Number of future teachers reaches all-time low." *National Education Association Today*. http://neatoday.org/2016/03/15/future-teachers-at-all-time-low/ (accessed December 31, 2018).

Fontaine, Haroldo A. 2010. "The Power of Film to Educate and Miseducate Pre-Service Teachers: A Phenomenological Analysis of Hidalgo and Cultural Representation of Muslims Post 9/11." *Multicultural Education* 17(2): 37–43.

Fraser, James W., and Lauren Lefty. 2018. *Teaching Teachers: Changing Paths and Enduring Debates*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Freedom Writers. 2007. Directed by Richard LaGravenese. Hollywood: Paramount Pictures, DVD.

Goodman, Jessica. 2014. "Robin Williams And The 'O Captain' Scene That Inspired A Generation." *Huffington Post*. https://www.huffpost.com/entry/robin-williams-o-captain_n_5670177 (Accessed July 2, 2019).

Griffiths, Morwenna. 2006. "The feminization of teaching and the practice of teaching: Threat or opportunity?" *Educational Theory* 56(4): 387–405.

Haase, Malcolm. 2008. "'I don't do the mothering role that lots of female teachers do': male teachers, gender, power and social organisation." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 29(6): 597–608.

Hjalmarsson, Maria, and Annica Löfdahl. 2014. "Being caring and disciplinary – male primary school eachers on expectations from others." *Gender and Education* 26(3): 280–292.

Hong, Ji Y. 2010. "Pre-service and beginning teachers' professional identity and its relation to dropping out of the profession." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 26(8): 1530–1543.

Ivanova, Ilze, and Rita Skara-Mincāne. 2016. "Development of Professional Identity during Teacher's Practice." *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 232(3): 529–536.

Jones, Deborah. 2007. "Millennium man: constructing the identities of male teachers in early years contexts." *Educational Review* 59(2): 179–194.

Kalokerinos, Elise, Kathleen Kjelsaas, Steven Bennetts, and Courtney von Hippel. 2017. "Men in pink collars: Stereotype threat and disengagement among male teachers and child protection workers." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 47(5): 553–565.

Kindergarten Cop. 1998. Directed by Ivan Reitman. Universal City: Universal Studios Home Entertainment. DVD.

Kirby, Davina C. 2016. "The influence of teacher media images on professional tteacher identities." PhD diss., University College London.

Loewenberg, Aaron. 2017. "There's as Stigma Around Men Teaching Young Kids. Here's How We Change It." Slate.com. https://slate.com/human-interest/2017/10/a-male-preschool-teacher-reflects-on-the-stigma-keeping-men-out-of-pre-k-classrooms.html Accessed December 31, 2018.

Malaby, Mark, and Sarah J. Ramsey. 2011. "The dilemmas of male elementary preservice teachers." *Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue* 13(1–2): 1–17.

Martino, Wayne John. 2008. "Male Teachers as Role Models: Addressing Issues of Masculinity, Pedagogy and the Re-Masculinization of Schooling." *Curriculum Inquiry* 38 (2): 189–223.

McGrail, J. Patrick., and McGrail, Ewa. 2016. "Why Bad Teacher is a bad movie and where the real crisis is: Implications for teachers and teacher education." In *Exploring Teachers in Fiction and Film: Saviors, Scapegoats and Schoolmarms*, edited by Melanie Shoffner, 192–202. New York: Routledge.

Mr. Holland's Opus. 1999. Directed by Oliver Wood and Stephen Herek. Burbank: Buena Vista Home Entertainment, DVD.

National Centre for Education Statistics. 2018. "Characteristics of Public School Teachers." Institute of Educational Sciences. United States Department of Education. Last

modified April 2018. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_clr.asp (Accessed February 15, 2019).
Nietzel, Michael T. 2019. "Whither the Humanities: The Ten-Year Trend in College Majors." *Forbes*. https://www.forbes.com/sites/michaeltnietzel/2019/01/07/whither-the-humanities-the-ten-year-trend-in-college-majors/#1942cd8864ad (accessed February 15, 2019).
Peck, Charles A., Morva McDonald, and Susannah Davis. "Using Data for Program Improvement: A Study of Promising Practices in Teacher Education." American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. https://secure.aacte.org/apps/rl/res_get.php?fid=1638&ref=rl (accessed July 2, 2019).
Rădulescu, Camelia. 2013. "Reinventing Reflective Learning Methods in Teacher Education."*Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 78: 11–15.
Raimo, Angela, Roberta Devlin-Scherer, and Debra Zinicola. 2002. "Learning about Teachers through Film." *The Educational Forum* 66(4): 314–23.
Redding, Christopher, and Thomas M. Smith. 2016. "Easy in, Easy out: Are Alternatively Certified Teachers Turning Over at Increased Rates?" *American Educational Research Journal* 53(4):1086–1125.
Rich, Motoko. "Why Teachers on TV Have to Be Incompetent or Inspiring." *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/10/opinion/sunday/why-teachers-on-tv-have-to-be-incompetent-or-inspiring.html (accessed September 29, 2018).
Rich, Motoko. "Why Don't More Men Go Into Teaching?" *New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/07/sunday-review/why-dont-more-men-go-into-teaching.html (accessed September 29, 2018).
Rury, John L. 1989. "Who Became Teachers? The Social Characteristics of Teachers in American History." In *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren, 9–48. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Rus, Claudia Lenuţa, Anca Raluca Tomşa, Oana Luiza Rebega, and Livia Apostol. 2013. "Teachers' Professional Identity: A Content Analysis." *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 78: 315–319.
Ryan, Patrick A., and Jane S. Townsend. 2012. "Promoting Critical Reflection in Teacher Education Through Popular Media." *Action in Teacher Education* 34(3): 239–248.
Sargent, Paul. 2001. *Real Men or Real Teachers?: Contradictions in the Lives of Men Elementary School Teachers*. Harriman, TN: Men's Studies Press.
Sargent, Paul. 2005. "The Gendering of Men in Early Childhood Education." *Sex Roles* 52(3–4): 251–259.
Shannon, Patrick. 2016. "Films, Governmentality and Agency in the Struggle over Reading Education." In *Exploring Teachers in Fiction and Film: Saviors, Scapegoats and Schoolmarms*, edited by Melanie Shoffner, 183–191. New York: Routledge.
Skelton, Christine. 2003. "Male Primary Teachers and Perceptions of Masculinity." *Educational Review* 55(2): 195–209.
Smith, Vernon G., Faite R-P. Mack, and Stacey Gray Akyea. 2004. "African-American Male Honor Students' Views of Teaching as a Career Choice." *Teacher Education Quarterly* 31 (2): 75–88.
Stand and Deliver. 1998. Directed by Ramón Menéndez. Burbank: Warner Home Video, DVD.
Strober, Myra H., and David Tyack. 1980. "Why Do Women Teach and Men Manage? A Reporton Research on Schools." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5(3): 494–503.

Sutcher, Lieb, Linda Darling-Hammond, and Desiree Carver-Thomas. *A Coming Crisis in Teaching? Teacher Supply, Demand, and Shortages in the U.S*. Palo Alto: Learning Policy Institute. https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/coming-crisis-teaching (accessed February 15, 2019).

Timoštšuk, Inge, and Aino Ugaste. 2010. "Student teachers' professional identity."*Teaching and Teacher Education* 26(8): 1563–1570.

Trier, James D. 2001. "The Cinematic Representation of the Personal and Professional Lives of Teachers." *Teacher Education Quarterly* 28(3): 127–142.

Vandermeersche, Geert, Ronald Soetaert, and Kris Rutten. 2013. "'Shall I tell you what is wrong with Hector as a teacher?' *The History Boys*, Stereotypes of Popular and High Culture, and Teacher Education." *Journal of Popular Film & Television* 41(2): 88–97.

Walker, Tim. 2016. "Hiring Non-Certified Teachers No Way to Address Teacher Shortage, Say Experts." National Education Association Today. http://neatoday.org/2016/03/23/teacher-shortage-non-certified-teachers/ (accessed December 31, 2018).

Weber, Sandra, and Claudia Mitchell. 1995. *That's Funny, You Don't Look Like a Teacher!: Interrogating Images and Identity in Popular Culture*. Washington, DC: Falmer Press.

Weber, Sandra, and Claudia Mitchell. 1996. "Drawing ourselves into tteaching: Studying the images that shape and distort teacher education." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 12(3): 303–313.

Welcome Back, Kotter. 1975–1979. Created by Gabe Kaplan and Alan Sacks. Hollywood: Warner Brothers Television Distribution. Television show.

Whitney, Anne Elrod, Elsie L. Olan, and James E. Fredricksen. 2013. "Experience Over All: Preservice Teachers and the Prizing of the 'Practical.'" *English Education* 45(2): 184–200.

Will, George. 1989. "O Robin! My Captain!" *Newsweek*, July 3. http://lexisnexis.com (accessed July 2, 2019).

Will, Madeline. 2018. "Enrolment Is Down at Teacher Colleges. So They're Trying to Change." *Education Week*. https://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2018/08/09/enrollment-is-down-at-teacher-colleges-so.html (accessed January 15, 2019).

Wong, Alia. 2019. "The U.S. Teaching Population is Getting Bigger, and More Female." *The Atlantic*. https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2019/02/the-explosion-of-women-teachers/582622/ (accessed March 15, 2019).

II Male-dominated Careers and Work Spaces

Gilad Reich

4 From Industrial Worker to Corporate Manager: The Ungendering of Andy Warhol's Masculinity

Abstract: This article explores Andy Warhol's masculinity as it was shaped and performed in the early years of his artistic career. While Warhol's gender identity, like his art, is often understood as a personal, artistic and cultural manifestation of his queerness, I argue that its coded nature forces us to look for other models of manhood that he employed. In this article, I chart the changing relationships between Warhol's modes of artistic production, the kind of artistic subjectivity they implied, and the ways in which these shaped his masculinity. I point to a transformation in each of these categories: a shift from Fordist to post-Fordist modes of production; a shift from the Modernist ideal of the artist as an author to the absence of authorship; and a shift from the model of the male artist/worker, to the model of the male artist as a dandy. The first part of this article locates Warhol within a wider shift in both artistic and non-artistic production that took place during the first half of the 1960s: the emergence of a new generation of artists that reacted against Abstract Expressionistic models of artistic subjectivity. The second part focuses on changes in Warhol's artistic practice and masculinity, from his first move into the Factory to him gaining public and professional recognition in the mid-1960s.

Introduction

The public image of Andy Warhol, one of the most influential and successful artists in the second half of the twentieth century, is traditionally coloured by his queerness. That is, his Camp aesthetic, his provocative lifestyle and his interest in celebrity culture as well as in outsiders of the heteronormative order. The proliferation of queer studies in the 1990s, followed by the growing interest of the mainstream media in queer culture, expanded this reading to a point where Warhol's masculinity is discussed only in terms of his sexuality. Warhol's gender identity as well as his art is understood today mainly as personal, artistic and cultural manifestations of his queerness (Joseph 2005; Crimp 2012; Schoonover 2012; Doyle 2015).

The importance of Warhol's contribution to queer culture cannot be underestimated, nor the value of reading his art from a queer perspective. As Joseph

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-005

(2005), Crimp (1999), and others have shown, these readings allow us to articulate the production of desire in capitalism and to appreciate the political urgency of Warhol's queer aesthetic. At the same time, it is known that in conservative America of the late 1950s and early 1960s, Warhol's queerness was greatly "coded". Its signifiers were legible only to those fluent in the imagery of gay and queer culture. The question is, therefore, what other elements figured in the construction of Warhol's masculinity and how did they play out in the formative body of his artistic career? What were the models of masculinity against which he shaped his masculinity? Which elements of this masculinity did he make visible throughout his career and which remained hidden?

To answer these questions, we must look at other crucial aspects of masculine identity construction. In Warhol's case, as I will demonstrate, it was the realm of production – both artistic and non-artistic – which shaped the forms of masculinity he presented. Warhol's model of masculinity changed dramatically between his early experimentations in art from 1962 to 1963 and his public success between 1965 and 1966. To articulate this change, we should look at shifts in artistic practices (artistic labour) during the early years of his career, and the models of artistic subjectivity that these practices are linked with. Only then will we be able to explain the construction of Warhol's masculine identity as a reaction, on the one hand, to the model shaped by his predecessors, and as an intervention in emerging corporate managerial practices, on the other.

This line of inquiry is built on two interrelated assumptions. The first is that artistic production is part of the general division of work in a society. This means that, although art is in many respects an autonomous realm of production, it is not necessarily produced for the creation of surplus value and it is still influenced by modes of non-artistic production. John Roberts goes as far as to argue that in the twentieth century, art defined its critical perspective by its 'attitude' towards hegemonic modes of production in society. Artists adopt, manipulate and reject techniques and practices which come from different realms of production, in order to position themselves in the world (Roberts 2007, 2).

The second assumption, made by various scholars from different fields, has to do with the mutual fashioning of labour and gender. According to that premise, the workplace is a site where gender identity, as well as gender hierarchies, are produced and reproduced. As Kathy Weeks argues, "it is not merely a matter of bringing one's gendered self to work but of becoming gendered in and through work" (Weeks 2011, 10). Gender can determine our approach towards the work we do, just as easily as our career choices and work play an important role in the way we understand ourselves as gendered subjects. Once the rhetoric of work became fundamental in the formation of "collective gender identity" (Baron 2006, 150), the workplace turned into a focal point for the construction of masculinity.

Put differently, the workplace is central to the "forming, nurturing, widening, and deepening" of masculine culture (Meyer 2016, 2). Following Connell and others, masculinity is understood here as a social construction that is always relational: it is composed of acts, attitudes, social roles and relationships that are negotiated in a given social context. Identifications, similarities and differences among men arise within a specific life situation and within the system of gender relations (Baron 2006; Connell 2005; Kimmel 1996). Hence, the career we pursue is in many respects influenced by these gender relations and shapes them in return.

Bringing these notions into research on masculinity and artistic labour means that we see artists and their masculinity as shaped by the gendered history of their profession, their actual work environment and their hands-on work practices. This is extremely relevant when discussing the transformation into a new economic era and the modes of production linked with it. The transformation from the industrial order to a corporate one was discussed at length as a 'crisis' of masculinity: the new white-collar corporate man was considered less manly than the industrial worker (Forth 2008, 204; Baron 2006, 145–146). However, the question of how this shift constructed a new model of the male artist remained utterly unexplored. By taking Warhol's career as a case study, I will articulate these changing relationships between artistic practice, artistic subjectivity, and models of masculinity.

Warhol's early career, between 1963 and 1968, will be the focus of this article. These were the years of Warhol's first studio, the Factory (also known as the Silver Factory), and the years of the famous *Elizabeth Taylor*, *Marilyn Monroe* and *Elvis Presley* portraits; the *Campbell's Soup Cans* and *Brillo* boxes and the experimental films *Sleep* (1963), *Empire* (1964) or *the Screen Tests* project (1964–1966). These years form the most important phase in Warhol's career: his innovative use of the silkscreen technique, his unique cinematic language, and his influential model of artistic subjectivity were developed then, alongside his model of masculinity. Whereas scholarly work on Warhol often takes his aesthetic as an object of inquiry, the current article will focus on Warhol's artistic practice: his process and method of artmaking.

In the following, I delineate the changing relationship between Warhol's modes of artistic production, the kind of artistic subjectivity they implied, and the way in which they shaped his model of masculinity. To do so, I point to a transformation in each of these categories: a shift from Fordist to post-Fordist modes of production; a shift from the Modernist idea of the artist as author to a notion of the artist as absent author; and a shift from the model of the male artist as associated with the figure of the worker to the model of the male artist as a dandy. The first part of this article locates Warhol within a wider shift in both artistic and non-artistic production, which took place around the first half of the 1960s: the emergence of a new generation of artists, as a reaction to the

generation of Abstract Expressionist artists and their models of artistic subjectivity. The second part focuses on changes in Warhol's artistic practice and masculinity, from his first move into the Factory, to him winning public and professional recognition in the mid-1960s.

The Language of Work: Artistic Subjectivity and the Model of the Male Artist between Abstract Expressionism and the Neo-avant-garde

By the beginning of the 1960s, a dramatic shift had taken place in the American art world. A new generation of artists came to see themselves not as "artists producing (in) a dreamlike world, but as workers in capitalist America" (Molesworth 2003, 27). The corporatisation of American culture, the flourishing of a new consumerist society and the booming post-war economy "placed extraordinary pressures on artists to redefine themselves and their work, and often they did so by thinking through and acting out the profound transformations of late-twentieth-century labour in their work" (Molesworth 2003, 27). Unlike their predecessors, the Abstract Expressionism's generation of painters, who adopted the Modernist convention of the heroic, eccentric and lonely artist, the new generation of artists explored ways to become part of the new capitalist order. Frank Stella presented himself as an executive artist, Donald Judd as a worker-designer and Robert Smithson as a worker-researcher (Roberts 2004, 342). Accordingly, Andy Warhol named his studio "The Factory". These artists adopted "the language of *work* as opposed to that of art", as Helena Molesworth puts it (Molesworth 2003, 25).

The process by which major corporations became the social institutions that represented the American spirit, was part of the transition from a Fordism mode of production to a post-Fordist one (Marchand 1998, 360): a shift from a scientific and rational production process, based on assembly-line logic, to a new capitalist order of "flexible accumulation" (Harvey 1990, 147). The logic of the Fordist production, which fuelled the rapidly growing consumerist culture of the 1960s was still the dominant mode of production, but a project-based, collective work with non-binding connections between the employers and employees, was on the rise (Harvey 1990, 132–135). Hollywood was one of the first industries to implement this shift. After running the film industry for several decades, in a sequential assembly-line style, the major studios reorganised their production process. As early as the mid-1950s, every production was organised and assembled from scratch, based on its specific needs (Regev 2018,

197–199). "Instead of big, vertically integrated companies, in the new flexible pattern, any industry revolves around a small core of employees with permanent status and a larger periphery of easily exchangeable part-time workers" (Regev 2018, 198). Flexible accumulation meant an adaptable, ad hoc collective cooperation, in which the manager holds the knowledge required to complete the task, hence becoming the most dominant figure in the production process.

Yet, for the artists, the adaptation of the linguistic and aesthetic rhetoric of the corporate world was first and foremost a way to attack the Modernist conception of artistic subjectivity. In post-war America, this conception was defined and manifested by Abstract Expressionism, which was considered the first original American contribution to Modernism in art, and the mainstream of American art at the time. The work of artists like Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning and Mark Rothko was often defined by the use of large-scale canvas, expressive brushstrokes and paint drips, rather than meticulous, pre-configured work. The expressionist painting was understood as an expression of the artist's inner self in a moment of transgression. In the case of Pollock, who became the emblem of Abstract Expressionism, his paint drips were understood by art writers as a direct extension of the artist's body and soul (Rosenberg 1952/2003, 590). Instead of painting, they were an act of mark-making: an unmediated self-expression projected onto the canvas as a representation of unconscious impulses. Following this reading of the artistic act, the artist was defined as a heroic figure who overcame personal impulses by turning them into great art (Barber 2004, 148–154).

Turning to the world of labour allowed the post-war artists to eliminate the expressive model of Abstract Expressionism. They developed different kinds of "mechanical" productions, first manual and then conceptual, which diminished the role of the artist as the source of creativity for the artwork. Whether in the form of a score for performance (Fluxus), instructions for drawings (conceptual), or copying everyday imagery (Pop), they all constrained the artistic act by a set of technical procedures or conceptual rules, and the artist's role was to work within these limits or oversee their materialisation. This 'mechanical' type of production changed the aesthetic of the artistic object dramatically, yet it also served as the prime strategy for attacking notions of skill, authorship and originality that were linked to Abstract Expressionist artists (Buchloh 2001, 33). It was a direct intervention in the conception of the artists' artistic subjectivities as "solitary shamans" (Roberts 2004, 342).

This is the context in which, by the end of 1963, Warhol, who had a successful career as a commercial illustrator, decided to pursue a new career as an artist. He rented a spacious ex-warehouse at East 47th Street in Manhattan and named it "the Factory". Together with his newly employed assistant, Gerard Malanga, he started working on his art, using the silkscreen technique he had recently adopted. It was a

technique which was originally invented for industrial use and allowed the repetitive printing of one image on multiple canvases. Most of Warhol's paintings and objects, from 1962 onwards, were made using this technique, making use of 'found images', images found in magazines and newspapers, as primary sources. The most famous were the *Campbell's Soup Cans* (1962), the *Shot Marilyns* portraits (1964) and the *Brillo Box* (1964). In the spirit of 'mechanical' production, a production which eliminates the artist's subjectivity in favour of a rigid set of rules, the silkscreen technique was Warhol's "machine". Positioning the copies that were made by silkscreen in an anti-hierarchical and serial grid radically equalised all images and enhanced the diminished subjective intervention on behalf of the artist. This sense of seriality was intensified by the selection of the subject matter Warhol chose to copy: some of the most common brands and cultural icons in America at the time. Warhol insisted on painting only cheap and popular "brand images": recognisable images and logos that were linked to working-class lifestyles and hence brought about a sense of working-class collective identification (Grudin 2017, 5).

The elimination of Expressionist artistic subjectivity also involved a transformation in the model of the male artist linked to it. Modernism inherited the idea of the artist as an individual and creative man, and the entire set of cultural conventions that were linked to it, from Romanticism. The artist was regarded as a strange and eccentric genius who worked alone in the studio, separated from everyday concerns. In the case of Abstract Expressionism, this anti-social model of the male artist was intertwined with another Modernist tradition – the artist as a worker. As Amelia Jones points out, since the nineteenth century, artists have adopted two main strategies to distance themselves from bourgeois society. The first was to embrace the figure of the heroic and elegant aristocrat dandy. This type of dandyism, often exemplified by the figure of French poet Charles Baudelaire, aimed to unite art and life, while rejecting the depersonalisation of modernisation (Jones 1995, 22). The second model artists chose to be identified with was simpler: the figure of the worker. Its heterosexual and virile grounds secured the artist's public acceptance, while adding democratic and productive undertones to his art (Jones 1995, 19–22).

Abstract Expressionist artists, working within the tradition of the artist as a worker, adopted many of the characteristics of the mid-century American working-class. They embraced values of "control, skill, autonomy, and independence", as respectable craftsmen used to do, while fostering "assertive and aggressive" masculinity in the spirit of the industrial worker (Meyer 2016, 6–10). According to Fionna Barber, many Abstract Expressionist painters used to wear T-shirts in public appearances, as a way to "reinforce their identification with working-class masculinity, suggesting thereby that their painting was produced through hard labour" (Barber 2004, 166). They enacted "certain forms of macho behaviour" and banned others, such as vulnerability (Barber 2004, 176). Drinking,

fighting and bold body gestures often identified with working class "rough masculinity" (Meyer 2016, 10) became part of the public image of this generation of artists. Pollock was known as a "laconic cowboy" (Barber 2004, 154) and the Cedar Bar, where he, de Kooning, Franz Kline and others used to hang out, was described as a "facsimile of the Wild West" full of "drunken brawls, fights over women, vain boasting, and, of course, artists talk" (Katz 1996, 192).

By adopting the "language of work" and the verbal and visual rhetoric that came with it, the new generation of artists maintained the association with the model of the artist as a worker, but replaced rough masculinity with a bourgeois model of it. Frank Stella, for example, labelled himself as an 'executive artist' and adopted a business suit as his formal wear, while others, like Warhol, played with signifiers of the industrial labourer. By doing so, they achieved two things at the same time: first, they maintained the masculine virility that comes with the association of the 'worker' as a way to compensate for the loss of rough masculinity. Secondly, adopting signifiers of middle-class masculinity was an "antagonistic stance toward male artistic genius [. . .] parodies of the modernist conception of a stable, unified (and implicitly masculine) western subject and, by extension, of the male artist/genius" (Jones 1995, 27). On the industrial floor, the introduction of automation, machines and new managerial practices by Fordism and Taylorism led to the emasculation of "both physical and intellectual bases of working-class male identities" (Meyer 2016, 9). This forced industrial workers to re-calculate their male identities by redefining skill as "the ability to endure repetitious and monotonous tasks" within the newly mechanised factory (Meyer 2016, 8). Transforming the artistic act to a repetitive and "mechanical" procedure was a way to re-masculinise the identity of the post-war artist, while simultaneously undermining previous models.

The tension between the act of re-masculinisation through identification with the figure of the worker and its de-masculinisation through identification with bourgeois masculinity is best manifested in Warhol's case. Warhol invested in industrial and corporate rhetoric just as much as he did in his aesthetic in the early days of his career. After naming his studio 'the Factory', with its Fordist connotations, he kept referring to the industrial-corporate world in his interviews and public statements, stating that "I want everybody to be a machine" and "my assistants do all of my silkscreens" to create the illusion of the Factory's industrial production (Goldsmith 1962/1987, 24). Furthermore, during his early years as an artist, Warhol adopted a "proletarian costume" – blue jeans and a chambray work shirt (Jones 1996, 199) – which are a play between the industrial worker's gear and middle-class outfit.

However, the heavy use of industrial rhetoric stood in contradiction to the Factory's actual mode of production, which was far from industrial: there were

no automated machines, no assembly-lines, and no wage labour. Warhol's job was closer to that of an artistic director, or rather to that of the new emasculated corporate manager, and he was mainly focused on the conception and planning of the painting and objects, and less on the execution, which was outsourced to his assistants. I suggest that Warhol radically associated himself with mechanisation and the figure of the industrial worker because of his marginalised position. His inwardness, gentle talk and fragile look implied a 'less-manly' or queer masculinity. Together with his commercial approach to art and the 'decorative style' of his aesthetic, this feminised model of masculinity was a threat to the rough environment of the Abstract painters (Barber 2004, 348).

In his memoir, Warhol writes about the sense of rejection which he felt when he occasionally ran into this circle of artists. For them, he was too "swish" – an offensive term that meant an effeminate gay man or a "sissy" (Butt 2005, 109). He describes the environment among the Abstract painters not only as macho, but also racist, violent and excluding of anyone who was not white and straight. Major painters, even those who were secretly homosexual, as in the case of Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Jones, tried to "look straight" (Warhol 1980, 15).[1] Other accounts describe the homophobic environment in which Warhol operated, to a point where other artists did not want to be associated with him because they were afraid to be labelled as homosexuals (Butt 2005, 113).

Warhol's strategy for dealing with the situation, I argue, was to make the tension between his heavy investment in industrial rhetoric and his 'feminine' masculinity visible. That is, to enhance some 'manly' aspects of his masculinity without giving up the (coded) queer aspects of his manliness, or to "compensate" for his marginal sexuality by adopting labour-related codes of working-class (read: straight) masculinity. This was his strategy for building a career in conservative American society and in the masculinised artistic environment of the early 1960s.

Post-Fordism, Bio-political Production and the Production of Ungendered Masculinity

In the Spring of 1965, during a trip to Paris for his show at the Ileana Sonnabend Gallery, Warhol announced his retirement from painting. "Art just wasn't fun anymore; it was people who were fascinating, and I wanted to spend all my time

1 Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Jones are considered post-Abstract or pre-Pop artists. Warhol admired the two, who were a gay couple, but they rejected him for being too overtly gay.

being with them, listening to them, and making movies of them", he wrote in his memoir (Warhol 1980, 142). Warhol was making movies as early as 1963, and kept painting long after 1965, but his statement marked a shift of interest for him, as an artist. The focus was now on people: their talents and lifestyles, their social dynamics and professional connections, their look and charisma, the way they carried themselves and behaved in public; in short, their performance.

This turn in Warhol's practice also meant a final shift from the position of the worker (with its industrial connotations) to the position of the manager (with its corporate connotations). Warhol started to gather people around him, not long after he moved into the Factory. This group of people, his Superstars, or rather his employees, were mostly people who had aspirations to become performing artists, models or film stars. By 1965, with Edie Sedgwick joining the group, they were already known in New York's art scene as Warhol's entourage, or the Factory People. In addition, Warhol surrounded himself with other circles of workers and collaborators, each formed and maintained for different purposes, even though their activities were constantly intertwined. Warhol recruited all these people, assigned them to work collectively on different tasks, and "fired" them when he no longer needed them. His "soft" and seemingly non-authoritative managerial style did not undermine the fact that every aspect of the Factory was linked back to him.

Warhol's Superstars not only stood at the centre of the Factory's public attention, but also at the heart of the Factory's growing production system. Their "official" job was to star in his films, but they had many other informal duties such as accompanying him to parties and openings; helping him film his movies; completing various production tasks for the Factory's everyday activity; entertaining the many guests who visited; introducing him to new talents or wealthy collectors; serving as spokespersons at public events; and providing him with ideas and inspiration for his artistic projects. Put differently, the Superstars had no official job description. Writing retrospectively about his former organisation of labour, Warhol observes: "A few people who worked with me on a fairly regular basis, a lot of what you might call free-lancers who worked on specific projects, and a lot of 'superstars' or 'hyperstars' or whatever you can call the people who are very talented, but whose talents are hard to define and almost impossible to market" (Warhol 1975, 91–92). In other texts he described the Superstars as "too gifted to lead 'regular lives', but they were also too unsure of themselves to ever become real professionals" (Warhol 1980, 71). The talent Warhol recognised in each of them lay in their personalities, either creative and communicative – "baby" Jane Holzer and Edie Sedgwick, for example – or strange and mysterious, like Nico. All the Superstars shared the desire to become famous, as well as their attentiveness to the boss's desires and needs. In many respects, Warhol's career was made possible thanks to their undefined talent.

Warhol took advantage of his employees' subjective investment in the work to ingrain precariousness as part of the production process. He left his collaborators in a constant state of insecurity regarding their social and professional status in the Factory (Shore 2016, 37). Their working hours were flexible and adaptable. The nature of the work was undefined as well, and the number of employees was ever-changing and determined by the projects' (read Warhol's) needs. Since work was immeasurable and unquantifiable, it promoted a fluid organisation of time and space that "hybridised" the private and public spheres, work time and leisure time (Gielen 2009, 19). Some of them even turned the Factory into their temporal home. They were "unpaid, untrained, undirected, and eventually unemployed", as Jones bluntly puts it (Jones 1996, 236). Those who stopped performing their undefined work were pushed out of the loop.

Examining this mode of production from a contemporary perspective, it is clear that Warhol implemented a post-Fordist logic of production into the production process at this stage of his artistic career. First, work was organised in a "flexible accumulation" model where Warhol, as the manager, orchestrated all facets of production and marketing. Second, work was immaterial by nature: a mode of production which prioritised immaterial goods in which "the symbolic value outweighs the use value" (Gielen 2009, 18). In the Factory, immaterial production meant that the performance of one's personality was part of the artistic outcome, and sometimes the artistic outcome itself. They were expected to be creative or innovative in the social meaning of the term, to surprise, amaze or entertain on a daily basis. This was achieved via modes of informality and play and as part of collective and seemingly non-hierarchical social dynamics, where each collaborator had to be an "active participant" (Lazzarato 1996, 134).

This mode of production was not only flexible and immaterial, but also, as Isabelle Graw points out, a form of bio-political production: the creation of value out of bodily or mental capacities of the subject by capitalisation or command over life, through technologies or mechanisms of power; production that monetised biological aspects of life, and used life itself as a source of generating value – symbolic, economic, or both (Graw 2010, 100–101). Artists, who traditionally dedicated their lives to their art, were known now to serve as a "blueprint for a post-Fordist condition that aims at the whole person" (Graw 2010, 100). But while the intertwining of life and artistic work usually took place on an individual level, even if the artist had assistants, work in Warhol's Factory was conducted through a whole set of collective performative capacities. It took cooperation and collective coordination which went beyond any recognisable modes of artistic production.

These shifts in Warhol's artistic practice and artistic subjectivity deeply changed the figure of the male artist which he developed. While some of these

changes can now be understood as 'structural', others are linked to Warhol's personal inclinations and style of management. Writing about post-Fordist production from a gender perspective, Cristina Morini argues that cognitive labour is built on the "cultural attributes" and "historical modality of female work" (Morini 2007, 48). With these statements, Morini makes clear that she does not imply an essentialist or ahistorical perception of women's experience, but "a model of the body which is totally and traditionally subjected to the power of capitalist organization" (Morini 2007, 43). According to Morini, in post-Fordist and bio-political production, the "administration of labour", as well as its "content", feminise the work further. In terms of administration, the demand for flexibility and adaptability, as part of the production process, reshuffles the organisation of time and space beyond the Fordist separation of life and work. The historical function of women and other 'others' in the realm of reproduction and domestic work serve as the general paradigm under post-Fordism (Morini 2007, 43–45). The content of the work is inseparable from its fluid nature: labour is taking place through cognitive, emotional and communication skills – features which resemble the modalities and logistics of care work, which does not have limits of time and space (Morini 2007, 4–48). The Factory, as a post-Fordist site, where both time and space are re-organised to fit constant artistic production, encouraged more 'feminised' aspects of labour. It is not only that women participate in the creative process, but Warhol himself gradually gave up 'masculine' attributes such as his "proletarian costume" and the industrial-like display.

The feminisation of labour, which is inherent to bio-political production, as it was played out in the Factory, was backed by a public discussion about the emasculation of the "white-collar" profession in general and the figure of the corporate manager, in particular. The shift towards "managerial capitalism" meant less focus on men's physical abilities and gave more importance to their social, cognitive and emotional skills. Individuality and autonomy, the cornerstones of American masculinity as it was developed since the nineteenth century, had to be expressed within corporate life, in a corporative manner (Kimmel 1996, 173). As part of this process, corporate culture "insisted upon a refinement of manners that seemed antithetical to traditionally masculine qualities like aggressiveness and competitiveness" (Forth 2008, 155). These "'feminizing' constraints of corporate culture" (Forth 2008, 209) meant not only cooperation and equality among co-workers, but also an acknowledgment of the workers' need for self-expression and self-actualisation. According to Eva Illuz, as emotions, communication and self-consciousness became essential parts of the corporate work process, they oriented male workers to a model more closely connected to the traditional female one (Illuz 2007, 16). It softened traditional masculine features and blurred gender divisions.

As the Factory was becoming a more 'feminine' space, due to its corporative and communicative modes of production, Warhol's figure took the direction of the corporate bachelor – the unmarried male that is not obliged to fulfil the role of domestic provider. As Forth puts it, "the bachelor thus enjoyed the best of both worlds: while his impeccable taste in food, music, clothes and furniture rendered him even more 'civilised' than women, he enjoyed a freer approach to sexual passion than his more domesticated friends" (Forth 2008, 209). Translated into gendered models of artistic subjectivity, Warhol's version of the bachelor was that of the bachelor-dandy – "a freakish, queer other" with an "awkward, sissy-boy appearance" (Butt 2005, 118). The bachelor, as an "ambiguously gendered figure", became elided with "an equally ambiguous corporate executive in the homosocial business place" (Jones 1996, 255). If the corporate bachelor marks an alternative to 'domesticated' masculinity, the bachelor-dandy explores nonnormative life patterns, and is hence a threat to bourgeois society.

While Warhol's paintings and films kept his sexuality coded, the lifestyle in the Factory became a challenge to the heteronormative (read: bourgeois) lifestyle. More and more people visited the space, day and night, and used it for different needs: drug use, execution of creative projects, random sexual encounters, or most commonly, a place to hang out. Everyday life – personal style, relationships, social gathering and modes of behaviour, all became part of the Warhol brand and, hence, inseparable part of the artistic act. In terms of production, Warhol became involved not only in visual art and films, but also in music and fashion. He was now running a full production house as well as social club in a seemingly cooperative and anti-hierarchical managerial style. Throughout this process he became "an ambiguously gendered figure [. . .] bachelor executive, the man-not-desiring-women, the camp dandy" (Jones 1996, 255). By 1965/66, his look evolved into that of the "androgynous" figure with his "French sailor look" (Breton-striped sailor top) and later his leather jacket, equally associated with the heterosexual "macho" rebel (Marlon Brando) and BDSM. "Dandyism provided an interpretative screen through which a knowledge of Warhol's queerness could be avowed, but one entertained only *in*, and *as*, a process of simultaneous disavowal", writes Gavin Butt (2005, 154). It was a way for Warhol to mark his sexuality while embracing gender ambivalence and asexuality.

However, if the meaning of masculinity is reformulated in response to social and economic changes (Baron 2006, 145), it can be argued that Warhol's androgyny, with its inherent ambivalence, was his strategy to maintain power and control over his career. According to Jones, the equivocation of his 'feminine' and seemingly democratic and anti-hieratical managerial style was also a

form of covert power that maintained the patriarchal power relations in the Factory:

> With his small-scale camera and crew, Warhol sought to convert the studio into the Studio (via the Factory) – appearing to emulate the patriarchal Hollywood family system dominated by the father/mogul who must adjudicate among the bickering children he has created. Yet Warhol famously refused to adjudicate, preferring the covert power of the manipulator, a gender role typecast as the catty female (though available to any sex that covets its less visible tools). This was clearly an inversion of the managerial models that were dominant in industries of the time, and constituted another mode of ambiguation in the Factory's production. (Jones 1995, 235)

Warhol's refusal to adjudicate, understood in this context as feminine, was a strategy for manipulation and obfuscation. While Jones is referring here to his artistic method of filmmaking, the same can be argued for the state of social and economic instability he maintained in the Factory (as mentioned earlier). Warhol's employees were emotionally and economically exploited and enjoyed only the fringe benefits that came from working in the creative industry (Gill and Pratt 2008, 13–14). Power in the Factory, exactly like Warhol's sexual orientation, was coded (Jones 1996, 242–243).

This does not mean that patriarchy was undermined. As Connell points out, men can receive "the benefits of patriarchy without enacting a strong version of masculine dominance" – for instance, this applies to gay men who might have a more "ambivalent" relationship to patriarchy (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 832). That "patriarchal dividend" (Connell 1995, 79) was gained from the subordination of women as well as other masculinities, hence Warhol's covert power was felt among the Factory people regardless of their gender. It did not challenge the heterosexist ideological structure of the patriarchal culture of the larger economic order (Berger, Walls and Watson 1995, 2).

No wonder, then, that behind his back, Warhol's notorious nickname was Drella – a combination of Dracula and Cinderella. The blend between the frightening vampire and the lucky princess precisely captured the tension between Warhol's 'feminine' and 'masculine' features. Given the meanings of these gendered aspects, when translated into models of artistic subjectivity (and modes of production), I argue that Drella expresses something deeper: the complex intersection between Warhol's model of masculinity and his model of artistic production. On the one hand, 'feminine' masculinity goes through an overt process of androgynisation and uses strategies of covert power and passivity to maintain unofficial hierarchies and exploit workers. On the other hand, a model of the artist as a facilitator of a permissive social space for the queer community and the artistic underground scene which, by means of withdrawal, gives visibility to anti-bourgeois forms of life. The more Warhol experimented with managing

bio-political production and producing un-normative forms of life, the more his masculinity became ungendered (but no less patriarchal). If one is "becoming gendered in and through work" (Weeks 2011, 10), Warhol's adaptation of corporate managerial strategies within the realm of art production intensified both emasculation and exploitation.

Conclusion

The figure of the artist as an emasculated, yet authoritative, manager, was adopted by Warhol for the rest of his career. As an acclaimed artist and an international mega-star, this figure was highly influential in at least two ways. First, it allowed new generations of artists to drop the traditional masculine image of the heroic artist and present more diverse types of artistic masculinities. Second, it opened up a new set of positions artists can take in society – some of them are more "masculine" (the artist as a constructor) and some are more "feminine" (the artist as a social worker). Warhol's dynamic play between gender identity and artistic practice opened the door for new types of artistic subjectivities, and, as a result, new types of artistic careers.

A direct reference to the link between masculinity and artistic practice can be found deep within Warhol's career. In 1978, he created the Oxidation Painting, also known as the Piss Painting. This series was his first attempt to create an abstract painting in the spirit of Abstract Expressionism, but as Warhol himself made clear (Carrier 2002, 73), it was a parody of the Expressionist style in general and of Pollock's art in particular. To create the painting, Warhol invited a group of friends to urinate on a canvas covered with copper paint. The uric acid removed parts of the paint or changed its colour, creating an effect of abstraction. By replacing paint with urine, dripping with pissing, and the figure of the "heroic" Abstract male artist with a group of queer colleagues, Warhol ridiculed Pollock's expressive gesture. But the Piss Painting was also an act of revenge: a victory of the marginal (read: homosexual, feminine) model of masculinity over that of a rough one. It exposed the close association between modes of artistic production and models of masculinity. Manipulations in the former led to change of meaning in the latter; one was shaping the other.

Using these ideas to re-examine the most formative years in Warhol's artistic career, I argue that it is impossible to grasp his changing conception of masculinity without articulating the transformations in his artistic practices and their social and cultural meaning. Eliminating Modernist artistic subjectivity and the artistic practices, which were attached to it, led to the emergence of a new figure

of the male artist. This model initially maintained some signifiers of previous models of masculinity, namely, the identification with the artist as a worker. As I suggested, Warhol's great investment in industrial rhetoric and aesthetic helped compensate for his "swish" or less-manly masculinity.

As the 1960s progressed, Warhol adopted post-Fordist and bio-political forms of production that supported and enhanced more 'feminine' attributes, allowing him to become an "androgynous" figure, one who relates to the tradition of the artist as dandy. This process took place in tandem with Warhol's shift of position from the "industrial" worker to the "corporate" manager – a figure which signifies the fear of emasculation in post-war America. This, however, does not mean that patriarchy was eliminated. As a system of control and subordination, patriarchy was maintained, but now operated in more complex and sophisticated ways than before.

References

Barber, Fionna. 2004. "Abstract Expressionism and masculinity." In *Varieties of Modernism*, edited by Paul Wood. 147–186. New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Open University.

Baron, Ava. 2006. "Masculinity, the Embodied Male Worker, and the Historian's Gaze." *International Labor and Working-Class History* (69): 143–160.

Berger, Maurice, Brian Wallis, and Simon Watson. 1995. *Constructing Masculinity*. New York: Routledge.

Buchloh, Benjamin. 2001. "Andy Warhol: One Dimensional Art." In *Andy Warhol*, edited by Annette Michelson and Benjamin Buchloh. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Butt, Gavin. 2005. *Between You and Me: Queer Disclosure in the New York Art World, 1948–1963*. London: Duke University Press.

Carrier, David. 2002. *Rosalind Krauss and American Philosophical Art Criticism: From Formalism to beyond Postmodernism*. Westport: Praeger.

Connell, Raewyn, and James W Messerschmidt. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society* 19(6): 829–859.

Connell, Raewyn. *Masculinities*. 1995. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Crimp, Douglas. 1999. "Getting the Warhol we Deserve." *Social Text* 59: 49–66.

Crimp, Douglas. 2012. *"Our Kind of Movie": The Films of Andy Warhol*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Doyle, Jennifer. 2015. "Just Friends: On the Making of Pop Out: Queer Warhol." In *Otherwise: Imagining Queer Feminist Art Histories*, edited by Amalia Jones and E. Silver. 50–70. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Forth, Christopher E. 2008. *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gielen, Pascal. 2009. *The Murmuring of the Artistic Multitude: Global Art, Politics and Post-Fordism*. Amsterdam: Valiz.

Gill, Rosalind, and Andy Pratt. 2008. "In the Social Factory?: Immaterial Labour, Precariousness and Cultural Work." *Theory, Culture & Society* 25(7–8): 1–30.

Goldsmith, Kenneth. 2004. *I'll be Your Mirror: The Selected Andy Warhol Interviews 1962–1987*. New York: Carroll & Graf.
Graw, Isabelle. 2010. "When Life Goes to Work: Andy Warhol." *October* 132 (Spring): 99–113.
Grudin, Anthony E. 2017. *Warhol's Working Class: Pop Art and Egalitarianism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
Harvey, David. 1990. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Illuz, Eva. 2007. *Cold Intimacies: The Making of Emotional Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity.
Jones, Amelia. 1995. "'Clothes Make the Man': The Male Artist as a Performative Function." *Oxford Art Journal* 18(2): 18–32.
Jones, Caroline A. 1996. *Machine in the Studio: Constructing the Postwar American Artist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Joseph, Branden. 2005. "The Play of Repetition – Andy Warhol's Sleep." *Grey Room* 19: 22–53.
Katz, Jonathan. 1996. "The Art of Code: Jasper Jones & Robert Rauschenberg." In *Significant Others: Creativity and Intimate Relationship*, edited by Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron, 189–207. London: Thames and Hudson.
Kimmel, Michael. 1996. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. New York: Free Press.
Lazzarato, Maurizio. 1996. "Immaterial labor." In *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*, edited by Paolo Virno and Michael Hardt, 132–147. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Marchand, Roland. 1998. *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Meyer, Stephen. 2016. *Manhood on the Line: Working-Class Masculinities in the American Heartland*. Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press.
Molesworth, Helen. 2003. "Work Ethic." In *Work Ethic*, edited by Helen Molesworth, 25–52. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
Morini, Cristina. 2007. "The Feminization of Labour in Cognitive Capitalism." *Feminist Review* 87: 40–59.
Regev Ronny. 2018. *Working in Hollywood: How the Studio System Turned Creativity into Labor*. North Carolina: North Carolina University Press.
Roberts, John. 2007. *The Intangibilities of Form: Skill and Deskilling in Art After the Readymade*. London: Verso.
Roberts, John. 2004. "Warhol's Factory: Painting and the Mass-Cultural Spectator." In *Varieties of Modernism*, edited by Paul Wood, 338–361. New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Open University.
Rosenberg, Herold. 2003. "The American Action Painters". In: *Art in Theory 1900–2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, edited by Charles Harrison and Paul Wood. 589–592. New York: Blackwell Publishing.
Schoonover, Karl. 2012. "Wastrels of Time: Slow Cinema's Laboring Body, the Political Spectator, and the Queer." *Framework* 53(1), Spring: 65–78.
Shore, Stephan. 2016. *Factory people*. London: Paidon.
Warhol, Andy. 1980. *POPism: The Warhol Sixties*. Edited by Pat Hackett. Toronto: Harcourt.
Warhol, Andy. 1975. *The Philosophy of Andy Warhol: (From a to B and Back again)*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Weeks, Kathi. 2011. *The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries*. London: Duke University Press.

Marta Choroszewicz

5 The Centrality of Soft Skills in Sustaining Masculine Ideals in Lawyers' Career Progression in Finland and Quebec

Abstract: The chapter examines the forms of soft skills and mechanisms, the development and recognition of which sustain masculine ideals embedded in lawyers' career progressions in Finland and Quebec. These contexts were chosen due to their civil law backgrounds, with their reputations for being legislation friendly toward work-life balance, including generous parental leaves and flexible work arrangements, as well as equality initiatives to support women lawyers' career advancement. The article draws on the approach of Bailly and Léné (2013) and a thematic analysis of the interviews conducted with 63 Finnish and Canadian lawyers. The results identify four soft skills, classified as social and interpersonal skills, including care orientation and listening skills, the ability to manage emotions and handle pressure, skills in business development and the 'proper' attitude and personality. These skills invoke masculine ideals concerning an appropriate professional persona – appearance of confidence, self-promotion, performing, networking and growing the business. The results raise concerns about social inclusion and discrimination in law firms in what is a highly individualised and male-typed professional environment of lawyers, in which the role of formal education and professional community for equipping lawyers with essential skills for legal career decreases in favour of personification, self-development and networking. The chapter advances scholarship on men, masculinities and legal careers by capturing how soft skills contribute to the reproduction of a masculine professional elite.

Introduction

This chapter approaches gender inequalities in the legal profession by analysing the forms of soft skills and mechanisms through which their development and recognition sustain the masculine ideals embedded in lawyers' career progression in Finland and Quebec (French Canada). This issue has been under-studied in the context of men's law careers. Apart from a few studies on soft skills and emotions (Hochschild 1983; Grugulis and Vincent 2009; Bailly and Léné 2013;

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-006

Koivunen 2016), very little is known about the link between soft skills and the masculine structure of the legal profession. This chapter shows that the set of soft skills identified herein play an important role in the processes of men's over-representation among law firm partners in Finland and Quebec.

Over the last 50 years, there has been a gradual influx of women into the legal profession, which has decreased the numerical domination of men. Women's presence is specifically strong in many civil law jurisdictions – for example, in Quebec (civil law jurisdiction of Canada), women make up 50% of attorneys and over 60% of notaries (Choroszewicz and Kay forthcoming). In Finland, women outnumbered men entering law school for the first time in 1989, and by 1992, women law graduates had outnumbered male law graduates (Silius 2003, 389). Today, women comprise more than 60% of law graduates in Finland, but they continue to make up only one-third of Finnish attorneys (Choroszewicz 2014). Despite women's growing representation among law students and lawyers in Quebec and Finland, men are more likely to remain in the profession and reach the most prestigious and rewarding positions in the profession (Choroszewicz 2014; Kay 2009).

Despite the numerical change described above, a norm of traditional breadwinning masculinity lingers in the legal profession in Finland and in Quebec as well as internationally. The legal profession was established by and for men, and thus it has a strong tradition of formal and informal exclusionary mechanisms towards women and members of other minority groups (Kay and Gorman 2012; Sommerlad 2016). Such male domination is reflected in the internal structures and professional ethos of the legal profession, which are hostile to work-life balance. If parental leaves and flexible work arrangements exist, they are addressed predominantly to women (Choroszewicz 2016; Tremblay 2013). The dominant emotional demeanour continues to rest on the emotional detachment or affective neutrality – the ideals that are related to the appropriate professional persona, which is marked by strong male assumptions about professional skills, behaviour, career choices and linear and upward career progress (Bolton and Muzio 2007; Choroszewicz 2016; Sterling and Reichman 2016). In addition, law firms hold women and men to different standards in evaluating their performance, skills and social networks (Kay and Gorman 2008); men's work also receives less scrutiny (Sterling and Reichman 2016). Studies continue to demonstrate that behind the facade of equal choices and opportunities are hidden cognitive biases and more support for men's development of skills and attributes expected of lawyers (Rhode 2011).

This study advances scholarship on men, masculinities and legal careers by showing the link between gender and soft skills as well as mechanisms through which masculine ideals prevail despite the increasing importance of

soft skills in the legal profession. The research highlights soft skills as a part of the masculine structure of the profession, in which masculinity is built into the work organisation and ways of becoming and acting as a professional.

Soft Skills and Lawyers' Professionalism in the Changing Context of Lawyers' Work

This research focuses on four groups of soft skills identified by Bailly and Léné (2013): (1) social and interpersonal skills that are related to communication processes; (2) emotional skills, such as empathy; (3) behavioural attitudes, which guide workers' behaviour and may cover such aspects as initiative-taking, involvement and a sense of service; and (4) physical and psychological qualities, such as appearance and personality. Bailly and Léné (2013) argue that soft skills have widened the range of characteristics expected of contemporary workers. These characteristics are increasingly related to one's appearance, personality and social skills, which are often reviewed as innate (Koivunen 2016). Soft skills also cover the ability to manage one's own emotions so that employees expose "the right feeling for the job" – an anticipated state of mind or expression thereof as a way to produce it in others as well (Hochschild 1983). Hochschild (1983, 86) noticed increasing relevance of emotional labour particularly in feminised occupations already at the beginning of the 80s: "Where the customer is king, unequal exchanges are normal, and from the beginning customer and client assume different rights to feeling and display." The production of the wanted state of mind is shaped by "feeling rules" – social norms embedded in the work environment and advocated by employers regarding what is an employee's appropriate feeling or display thereof (Hochschild 1983). Hochschild (1983) makes a distinction between producing a socially appropriate state of mind referred to as "deep acting" and a socially appropriate expression of a feeling regarded as "surface acting". The first involves a transformation of private feeling into a public one that is socially expected in a given situation; the second focuses on public display of emotions. According to Hochschild (1983), emotional labour occurs when employees experience anxiety or fear when attempting to accommodate these norms. This may involve suppressing or invoking emotions.

Some research demonstrates that soft skills may also polarise the workplace. Grugulis and Vincent (2009, 611), in their study on IT professionals, observe that soft skills are more likely to benefit employees who are already in advantageous positions. Soft skills, thus, operate like beauty, which exists in the eye of the beholder; accordingly, they can advantage employees only when the employer decides to recognise, legitimise and reward them (Grugulis and Vincent 2009, 611).

As in many other professions, it has been observed that the legal profession has undergone a commercial revolution, which now manifests in the prevalence of a commercial ethos that is especially strong in private law practice, where clients have gained more influence over lawyers' work (Haynes 2012; Collier 2015). A shift of the legal profession towards a fragmented, hyper-competitive and entrepreneurial profession (Collier 2015) has challenged traditional ways of legal work and created new pressures for lawyers associated with a need for skills and legal expertise beyond the traditional repertoire (Choroszewicz 2014).

Even though lawyers may have a greater degree of autonomy compared to other groups of service workers, they are increasingly expected to be well-versed in interpersonal communication, marketing and self-promotion (Sterling and Reichman 2016). This is linked to the current emphasis on attracting new clients, client service and retention in law firms. Lawyers are increasingly evaluated in terms of their performance and business value. The relationships between lawyers and clients are also more long-lasting and require much more cultivation than ever before. The clients are central to the lawyers' work, particularly in legal specialisations and law firms which deal with wealthy clients, whose satisfaction and retention are crucial for profits (Haynes 2012; Heinz et al. 2005). Clients in private law practice demand more customised and personalised products owing to, for instance, rising lawyers' fees (Heinz et al. 2005). Furthermore, the billable hours system limits the lawyers' autonomy and independence from the clients' influence. Lawyers feel particularly obliged to pay special attention to the needs of the most prestigious and powerful clients, who contribute significantly to their profits.

The increasingly relational character of legal work may result in differences in lawyers' resources and capacities to develop soft skills, especially if their acquisition is not ensured by education and training. Specifically, gendered assumptions about the ability to develop and display different skills including emotional skills can surface here and shape lawyers' opportunities for career progression. Pierce (1995), in her study on litigators, captured the gender differences in the professional expectations for emotional labour. While in the courtroom women and men lawyers had to display a more adversarial style of lawyering in order to be effective, outside it women felt the pressure to be friendly and nice in encounters with their colleagues. Pierce (1995, 121) also noticed that women lawyers in her study performed a "relational form of emotional labour emphasizing a caring orientation toward others". This might be due to the existence of gendered professional expectations of women to be naturally prone to undertaking emotional labour and to possess abilities to serve, please and adapt to others' wishes (Choroszewicz 2014; Koivunen 2016; Pierce 2010); men, on the contrary, when they succeed in acquiring and exposing these skills, can be better rewarded for them (Grugulis and Vincent 2009).

Materials and Methods

The study was based on semi-structured interviews with 31 Finnish and 32 Canadian male and female lawyers, which are parts of two research projects. The first project was aimed at studying women lawyers' careers and the second at men lawyers' reconciling of legal career and family life. Ten interviews with Finnish female lawyers were conducted in March 2011 and the remaining 53 interviews in 2016.

Most interviews were digitally recorded; for two interviews notes were taken. Interviews lasted on average 90 minutes. At the time of the interviews, interviewees ranged in age from 32 to 68 years. About half of the 63 interviewees were law firm partners. Most interviewees (39) worked in medium-sized (11 to 100 lawyers) or large law firms (more than 100 lawyers). The rest of the interviewees worked in small law firms or as solo practitioners.

The case of Finnish and Canadian interviews from Quebec were chosen due to their civil law contexts, with their reputations for being legislation friendly toward work-life balance, including generous parental leaves and flexible work arrangements, as well as equality initiatives to support women lawyers' career advancement. While in both of these contexts prominent attention has been devoted to the under-representation of women in law firms, still, the use of policies for work-family reconciliation are accompanied by negative judgement about lawyers' career commitment and delayed or derailed career progress (Choroszewicz and Tremblay 2018; Tremblay 2013). Still, the policies for work-family reconciliation have a longer tradition and stronger position in Finland than in Quebec, where they have a provincial range. The career progression in law firms in both contexts typically starts with traineeships or junior lawyer positions and advances through associate and senior associate positions towards non-equity partners and equity partners at the top of the pyramid. In the past two decades, law firms have also developed numerous additional job positions for lawyers who are not on the partnership track, such as counsel attorneys, counsels and staff attorneys. Despite these similarities, the work organisations in law firms in Quebec is more individualistic, which results in extensive expectations put on young lawyers of business development and client recruitment.

This chapter presents a thematic analysis of selected parts of these interviews from a gender perspective. First, I analysed extracts in which lawyers described and discussed skills and attributes that are important today for lawyers at different stages of their careers. Second, they were coded based on types of skills appearing in them. Third, I applied Bailly and Léné's (2013) typology of soft skills to identify the codes linked to these skills. Finally, I analysed these extracts from a gender perspective to capture the link between these skills, the

mechanisms behind their development and recognition as well as the gendered structure of the profession. In the analysis that follows, I address the following research questions: What forms of soft skills are expected of lawyers in law firms? What are the mechanisms through which softs skills, their development and recognition sustain the masculine ideals in the law firms and the legal profession in general?

Results

The results are organised into two sections. The first section discusses the four forms of soft skills that were identified in this study: 1) social and interpersonal skills, 2) ability to manage emotions and handle pressure, 3) skills in business development, and 4) the 'proper' attitude and personality. The second section examines the mechanism through which development and recognition of these soft skills sustain the masculine ideals in the legal profession.

Forms of Soft Skills and their Centrality to Lawyers' Career Progression

Female and male interviewees in both countries talked about the importance of *social and interpersonal skills* that enable them to be attentive to clients' needs and the service that they provide to the clients, build a long-lasting rapport with them and gain their trust. Interviewees used different terms for these skills, such as social skills, listening skills, negotiation and mediation abilities, and communication and social capacities. The experienced Finnish interviewees emphasised the lawyers' flexibility with clients, which enables them to connect with the clients on a personal level:

> To be an attorney, it is not enough that you know the law and you know the substance of lawyers' work – you need to know about the marketing; you need to know about the business; you need to understand it. You need to be really good with people . . . I mean understanding different demands and how people react and really change your attitude with different clients. (Finnish, female, partner, 41)

> You have to have these social capabilities. That is the main thing. In every contact with clients, whatever you're doing, communication is always important. So, what is most important is social skills. That's the most important. Of course, you have to have all those degrees and maybe work experience too. Social skills are number one. The first time you meet someone new, the first impression is most important. (Finnish, male, partner, 59)

There is also a tendency to see these skills as innate – that is, related to lawyers' natural abilities. Furthermore, specifically Finnish and Canadian partners of both genders stressed that fluency in social and interpersonal skills can compensate for a deficit in legal skills. A Finnish interviewee explained as follows:

> Of course you have to have some legal knowledge of your area of expertise; that is, like, a precondition of being an expert. But, still, I think that, also, there is a certain kind of place for also taking into account, like, your natural abilities . . . that somebody can be a really good lawyer with really deep knowledge of the legislation and legal skills, but somebody can also be less skilled legally, but more talented socially and still can be a really good lawyer. (Finnish, male, specialist partner, 40)

The need for social and interpersonal skills seems to be driven by the central position of clients in legal work. As the practice of law has become more focused on developing a long-term clientele, client satisfaction and loyalty, lawyers – like any other service providers – appear to be prone to customers' pressures and dissatisfaction. Clients are also becoming more aware of their importance to lawyers and law firms, and thus they feel empowered to demand more customised, prompt and personalised service. Lawyers feel pressure to be available around the clock to comfort and serve the most wealthy and prestigious clients, who contribute significantly to the firms' profits (Heinz et al. 2005). The need for social and interpersonal skills is also influenced by the internationalisation of the legal practice, where lawyers must be capable of communicating with people from different cultural backgrounds and in different time zones.

The importance of showing clients that they, as lawyers, care about them and their legal matters is increasing as well. A Canadian male interviewee highlighted the prominence of social skills and prompt replies to clients' enquiries as follows:

> And also have really high people's skills in order to get the information, unite people behind goals and also be able to communicate adequately. [. . .] In my private law practice, the ability to answer quickly is really much appreciated. [. . .] So, being able to provide a diligent answer, which is a little bit part of people skills, being able to understand the situation that people are in, I think that's a real key.
> (Canadian, male, general counsel and solo practitioner, 52)

Care orientation and listening skills were specifically highlighted by Finnish and Canadian female interviewees. They argued that by taking sufficient time to listen to their clients, they provide them with the comfort and guidance that they need. They related natural predispositions to care and psychological support to their gender identity and experiences of motherhood:

> Listening, because you know sometimes people, they come to you and they just wanna say what is bothering them. They just wanna tell somebody their story and whatever the

> decision the judge is going to say at the end, they're just happy because somebody listened to their side of the story and they managed to explain what they felt. So, there's a lot of emotion in there. Also, you gotta tell them what to do sometimes. You can listen, but you have to tell them, for example, 'No, this is what we're gonna do because this is the best decision for the child or for you'. (Finnish, female, solo practitioner, 36)

> It is *women attorneys* who have these cases [family law cases], handle them more properly and, also, I think women give more of this therapy and talking help to the client, which I think they also need. (Finnish, female, associate, 41)

The notion of care was pronounced by the female interviewees in legal areas that provide legal advice to weak and disadvantaged clients, which can be linked to the gendered professional expectations (Pierce 1995, 2010). Women lawyers have been facing higher moral standards and different expectations regarding their style of lawyering and their role in the legal community as a consequence of the cultural notion of the "good woman" (Epstein 1993). Pierce (2010) notes that women lawyers may be professionally punished if they do not comply with this archetype. Furthermore, Gilligan (1982), inspired by feminist thinking of the 1980s, argued that women lawyers in their actions to resolve moral problems are driven by responsibility and care orientation. She referred to this approach as an "ethic of care" (Gilligan 1982). However, this approach was critiqued as 'essentialist' and possibly reinforcing stigmatisation of women as others in relation to the masculine code of the legal profession (Bennett 2001, 105–112).

> Besides being skilled in your area of practice – that is, knowing your domain – one needs to be able to listen to clients. Caring, taking time for the client, caring . . . Just to care for the client is the big thing you can do: making them feel important when you listen to them. And that's caring. We're service providers. But I think it's part of my human *mother nature*. I love to help. I love to help out. I love to be . . . I love to listen to people. I love to find a solution to my clients' problems. (Canadian, female, partner, 39)

In addition, male colleagues and clients appeared to appeal to female lawyers' care orientation. A Finnish male partner compared his prospective female junior lawyer to a nurse:

> And she just has a very good way with the clients which, again, very few junior lawyers develop that early. I think one client said that when she walked into the room, it was like being a patient in a hospital and a nurse comes over and suddenly you feel calm, everything's alright and I'm gonna get my medicine, and so she kind of takes the . . . some of the stress away from the clients, which is very important. (Finnish, male, partner, 41)

This suggests that it is not only women lawyers who draw on the skills and qualities associated with womanhood, such as care orientation; it is also male

colleagues and possibly clients who attribute these skills to female lawyers, but not to male lawyers. Thus, female lawyers may benefit from the skills associated with feminine archetypes of legitimate authority and power as female professionals (Choroszewicz 2014; Pierce 2010). However, these gendered skills and qualities remain a limited and context-sensitive resource that is valued most especially in the female-typed legal areas such as family law and welfare, and thus the use of this resource may also reinforce women's position as 'other' in relation to the masculine code of the profession (Bolton and Muzio 2007).

Furthermore, *an ability to manage emotions and handle pressure* appeared to be pronounced by the interviewees. Traditionally, emotions have been perceived as an intrinsically feminine attribute relating to women's roles in family life and in women-dominated occupations. With the expansion of service work, skills in managing emotions have become increasingly central and utilised across different occupations and work environments (e.g. Bolton 2005; Granday et al. 2013; Hochschild 1983). In the legal profession, lawyers' professionalism was originally based on the ability to refrain from the muck of feelings and do legal work that was not contaminated by non-legal aspects, such as personal or family life (Heinz et al. 2005, 80). The identity of the archetypical lawyer involved the capacity to keep psychological distance from clients' legal matters (Macdonald 1995).

The interviewed lawyers' emotional labours include some degree of "surface acting" so that they appear calm and trustful to their clients. While clients may assert their right to display their negative feelings because they pay high fees for lawyers' work, the interviewees argued that they feel an obligation to temper their emotional responses in the face of clients' dissatisfaction, pressures and complaints. This is the case even when clients' expectation of 24/7 service hampers the predictability of lawyers' work schedules and demands personal sacrifices. Staying calm under pressure appears to be a vital requirement specifically when one is in contact with key or prospective clients and needs to reassure them about the security of their business. This was especially relevant to the Canadian interviewees, who emphasised the ability to handle pressure as an essential virtue:

> Here, it is a lot of stress; it is like in a restaurant during rush hour – you need to keep calm and you cannot say, 'Wait, I have another client.' You need to keep everyone happy. (Canadian, male, partner, 50)

> Keep up with the changes and respond to emergencies without too much stress. Good stress management is very important. We always have critical, urgent situations that pop up, so you have to be able to deal with the fact that, I mean that, I usually plan ten things to do for my week on Monday, and if I get one done by Friday, I'm really happy. So it's always things that pop up at the last minute. I have the type of clients such that I can

> never plan anything in advance. So, I guess it's just to adapt to the different circumstances and the changes and how your schedule will be constantly reorganised at the last minute. (Canadian, female, associate, 42)

The interviewees in senior positions from both countries emphasised the need for young lawyers to master "deep acting" so that they learn how to handle pressure and recover quickly from omnipresent difficulties if they want to survive in this profession:

> You have to be resilient, because you're going to lose cases, and whatever you do, some clients are not gonna be satisfied with it, because sometimes they are just not realistic about the potential outcomes. So, you can manage your expectations to a certain extent, but sometimes, you end up in a situation where the client is not satisfied and maybe sometimes rightfully, sometimes not. But you have to be resilient [. . .] So, resilience is definitely one of the key qualities. (Canadian, male, partner, 43)

> You have to be able to meet the deadlines and handle the pressure and handle multiple cases at the same time, but I think it's something which comes with the job and . . . you perhaps should be, or you don't probably end up being in this kind of profession that . . . or you will jump out quite quickly if you don't cope with that or don't think that's suitable for you. [. . .] But I guess the main issue is the pressure you get from the clients. So, you just have to learn to deal with it, and if you don't learn how to deal with it, then you're not really capable of doing it. You end up being a maniac, I guess. You just have to learn to handle pressure. (Finnish, male, specialist partner, 40)

Furthermore, the interviewees from medium-sized and large law firms in both countries emphasised *the skills in business development* as essential for lawyers aspiring to become law firm partners. These skills appear to belong to the category of behavioural attitudes (Bailly and Léné 2013). These lawyers experience a need to be increasingly active in recruiting clients through activities involving self-promotion, marketing and networking such as writing articles, participating in networking events with clients and colleagues, public presentations for clients and internal presentations for colleagues:

> We do a lot of information marketing. We write articles, we have presentations . . . So, it's basically, you try to get people in situations where they are already exposed to your skills to some degree. (Finnish, male, partner, 45)

> It is not that you are an attorney and you are sitting at your office and you are waiting for clients. It is not like that anymore – that because I am an attorney and I am a very respectable person, everyone will come to me. Then I tell them that I am an attorney and this is how I do and this is the price for what I do, so take it or leave it. It is not like that anymore. It's like you really need to go after them [the clients] and try to find out and study what they do and what they might need, and really tailor the service for them in order to convince them that it will be very useful for them.
>
> (Finnish, female, senior associate, 33)

While the importance of business and sales skills appeared to be especially prominent in the corporate sector of the legal profession in both countries, there were some differences between Finland and Quebec. In Finland, these skills appeared to be required of partners, as they are almost solely in charge of bringing new clients, and thus these skills appeared to be central to making a law firm partner. Yet, according to the Finnish interviewees, there is also a place in law firms for lawyers with weak or without skills in business development, who can continue their career as legal experts:

> When we look for someone to become a partner, it's a little bit different set of skills than for an associate. So, we look at their ability and willingness to build networks and to acquire work for the firm. It's about building your expertise and being active in the professional associations. That's the first step towards building the network and then acquiring work for the firm, then maybe international conferences and doing some networking there. (Finnish, male, partner, 42)

> Well, I think the idea is that you first have to find your own legal niche. But then it goes so that you are an associate; then you become a senior associate; then you start to be close to being a partner; and then you become a partner. But then what might happen is that you work for a niche and you are a great lawyer, but the business is not there, so you do not have the business responsibility. And that's when you become a counsel or specialist partner. (Finnish, male, partner, 48)

By contrast, in Quebec, the pressure to be proactive in business development appeared to be salient from the beginning of a lawyer's career. These skills seem to shape opportunities not only for career progression but also for lawyers' employment in law firms:

> In Canada, even junior lawyers are very independent and, in fact, law firms expect you to start bringing your own clients in. They don't necessarily provide you with a lot of support, but even if you're a junior lawyer, they just say, 'Here's an office and here's a bunch of money; go make more money'. In Canada, we don't control our lawyers that much, in the sense that they're very independent to do what they like to do. The downside is that if you're not doing what's expected of you, you're very quick to be out the door and gone. We do that often at law firms. Many lawyers come through and are terminated very quickly – sometimes in only a few months. It is a very important thing that lawyers are expected to bring in their own work, first of all. So, you have to get your own clients. That means, if you're going to do that, you have to do a lot of marketing and business development. That means that you have to do things like write many articles, attend many different award ceremonies, go to lunches with many people all the time, attend art gallery openings, be involved in your local community . . . You have to do lots of things like that that law firms think help you bring clients in. (Canadian, male, partner, 41)

Recruiting new businesses and clients has become more vital to firms since the 2008 recession (Sterling and Reichman 2016). Since then partnership in law

firms has become less secure and increasingly dependent on an ongoing performance evaluation (Galanter and Henderson 2008). This appears to be also true in Finland and Quebec, where having a so-called 'book of business' (one's own clients) has become prominent among senior lawyers. Yet the Finnish interviewees were more upfront about this in the interviews:

> It used to be that after you become partner, you could be partner as long as you liked. That's not the case anymore. So, I don't expect to be here until I retire. I'm gonna be kicked out at some point when the phone stops ringing. (Finnish, male, partner, 48)

> So there are provisions in the shareholders agreement that if you start to relax with what you're doing and your billing, the money that you're actually bringing in gets smaller and smaller; then you are expected to step down from that kind of senior partner level. (Finnish, male, partner, 45)

While, in both countries, lawyers with solely legal skills do not get very far in their career progression, the traditional repertoire of legal skills is crucial for junior lawyers when they enter the legal industry. While legal work can be done by junior lawyers, senior lawyers – and specifically law firm partners – must be capable of bringing in new projects and clients so that their subordinates have enough work to do. In both countries, male law firm partners highlighted that their companies have tools through which they monitor associates' activities in networking and business development:

> We have created client relationship tools in the database where we can see whom they [associates] have met and what was the result in terms of new business coming in. (Finnish, male, partner, 60)

The expectation of business development and its prominence in career progression can create gender inequalities and divisions of labour in law firms, where the work performed by women is less valued compared to the work performed by men (Sterling and Reichman 2016). Furthermore, junior lawyers are dependent on their senior colleagues, who are in charge of the distribution of legal cases and clients as well as provision of mentoring. Men lawyers continue to disproportionally benefit from networking and socialising patterns that are based on male friendships and social occasions involving sports, dinners and after work partying (Kay, Alarie and Adiej 2016; Thornton 1996).

Furthermore, the issue of having the *'proper' attitude and personality* was specifically highlighted by law firm partners, who have high expectations of their subordinates in terms of both behavioural attitudes and psychological qualities. While there is an analytical difference between an attitude – a behaviour that can be changed or developed –, and a personality – a psychological quality that is more innate –, the interviewees tended to conflate them and

define them as skills. These attitudes and qualities included dedication to work, hard work, unlimited availability to work, the ability to prioritise work demands over the demands of private life, initiative-taking, commitment to continuous professional development and exhibiting a proper level of confidence. These aspects appeared to compose what the interviewees referred to as 'the proper attitude' or 'the proper personality', which seemed to be used by senior lawyers as indicators of whether their young colleagues were 'naturally' prone to working in private law practice:

> They need to be dedicated [associates], which means availability and being ready to work as much as me. You can learn legal skills, but the ability to work hard – it is something that you either have or do not have. (Canadian, male, partner, 50)

> The right type of attitude and personality, when they are willing to make personal sacrifices for the client and for the firm and for their colleagues . . . Many times, it's your colleague that is going to do the work, because you want to go to [do some hobby]. If there are two lawyers who are equal, but the first one is willing to sacrifice his or her [free time], this is a better attitude compared to the one who feels that he or she will never sacrifice his or her personal life for this work. If you have this type of attitude, then you're in the wrong line of business. (Finnish, male, partner, 45)

Confidence as included under the 'proper' attitude and personality was frequently mentioned by both female and male leaders of law firms in both countries specifically when they compared female and male lawyers:

> Men are good at putting themselves first in everything and, I think, women were raised not to do that. We're raised to be polite. But men promote themselves. Women are waiting for others to promote them. And this, for me, is a big mistake. I used to do that. I used to be a very shy woman. But by getting involved more and more, I've learned that I am as good as any man. [. . .] Here, we coach women lawyers to think differently.
> (Canadian, female, partner, 39)

> You need to convince the clients, and perhaps men are more capable of doing this because they are more easily overly confident about themselves, and that over-confidence, of course, affects especially in this profession. It convinces the clients that now we have the right person to take care of our business. Perhaps this is somewhat a disadvantage for women. (Finnish, male, partner, 45)

The diverse meanings conveyed by the term of 'proper' attitude and personality make it a highly subjective indicator that highlights lawyers' individual responsibility and ignores the structural aspects of attitudes and qualities such as traditionally men's greater capabilities to prioritise work over family responsibilities. Furthermore, the ways in which confidence was brought up as an important quality suggest that the legal culture still favours traditionally masculine qualities, on which the lawyers' professional identity rests and against which female

lawyers are professionally evaluated. The leaders of law firms in both countries appeared to agree that women lawyers seem to be seen as failing to live up to the masculine ideal of a self-confident lawyer. While research finds no consistent gender gap in self-consistent in male-typed professions and occupations, there is some evidence that the gap is rather about others' perceptions (e.g. co-workers and supervisors) of whether a person is confident (Guillen, Mayo and Karelaia 2018). The consequences of self-confident appearance at work differ for women and men (Guillen et al. 2018), and therefore some women may feel uncomfortable to self-promote themselves (Lindeman, Durik and Dooley 2018).

Development and Recognition of Soft Skills within Masculine Work Environments

A few Finnish male partners argued that their firms try to assist junior lawyers in their development of skills that are central to lawyers' career progression:

> We involve associates in client relationship work, and then we've even had events – and we encourage associates to use them. They can also invite guests to lunch and we'll pay for it. They can be involved in the client relations processes, and they have a lot of independence to do that. But then it's a personal thing, whether they benefit from these opportunities. Some have a lunch or two lunch meetings a week and others do not.
>
> (Finnish, male, partner, 48)

However, the majority of Finnish and Canadian partners highlighted a lawyer's individual responsibility and self-initiative in investing his or her own free time into developing these skills:

> There is not enough time to teach associates because clients are waiting. Associates need to be good at self-developing and learning in their free time and at observing others.
>
> (Canadian, male, partner, 50)

According to some senior lawyers the system of evaluation is transparent and gender-neutral, but women are less willing to do what it takes to advance their careers. This is evident in the quotation of a Finnish interviewee, which legitimises gender inequality in law firms by making women responsible for not creating the same profits for the company that men do:

> There are different reasons for people not wanting to put as much effort into bringing the money to the law firm. Then those people will not advance in their career. They won't work as senior partners. So, this is 100 percent transparent – nothing about gender. It's all about money, and [it is] the reason that women rarely, or more rarely than men, are not willing to commit themselves to working crazy hours. This is 100 percent transparent,

> how much money you bring in, how many billable hours you do. The only thing is that it tends to be men who bill more. They are crazy enough to spend their life doing work. That, in this field of business, you don't promote women to become partners just because they are women . . . At the end of the day, this is about money. This is a very well-paid job, very lucrative business, and it all boils down to how much money you're bringing in – what is your monetary value to the company. (Finnish, male, partner, 45)

For the above-mentioned Finnish interviewee and male interviewees in general, the prerequisites for career progress appeared fairly clear. A few male interviewees, some of whom became partners at a very young age (35 to 40 years old), admitted to having received help from their mentors and senior partners, who supported them and shared files and clients with them. They talked about having 'good energy between them and their superiors'. Some other male interviewees highlighted individual efforts invested in the development of these skills:

> It took some time to get used to this kind of selling perspective of the whole business. After you get . . . it's kind of like a trial and error kind of thing. After you end up learning how to speak with the clients and how to sell the case to clients, then usually that is pretty much the way now. So, [it is] pretty much a trial and error kind of thing. There isn't really a guidebook from which you can learn it. (Finnish, male, associate, 33)

While male interviewees denied the relevance of gender for developing and recognising skills and for work that is central to career progression, female interviewees who had experienced difficulties in their career advancement, despite the efforts that they put into it, talked about an opaque process of becoming a partner. The issue became especially pronounced in the case of a Canadian female senior associate, who admitted to having experienced 'moving targets' in her efforts to advance in her career:

> For example, if your superior feels that you are competing with him, and he is the one that has all the work, then he's just not gonna send you any legal case to work on. So, it's always really tricky because there are a lot of things in a law firm that are out of your control. So, I can say that 'Okay I'll increase my billable hours and I'll work more; I'll sit at my desk to do that'. Then it turns out to be about conference presentations, and then it can be about something else. It's a puzzle. (Canadian, female, senior associate, 37)

The interviewee referred to the process of becoming a law firm partner as a puzzle when the requirements for career progress continuously change. When some requirements are met, the new requirements arise. This puzzle is of specific character in Canada, where lawyers need to have powerful sponsors who publicly endorse their applications to make partner. The choice of, and ability to obtain, sponsors is crucial for development and recognition of skills and

work outcomes. The interviewed Canadian female partners admitted that it took time for their applications to go through until they received endorsements from the right sponsors. A senior associate explained the process that she had been undergoing for two years already without a promised result:

> Women need sponsors. [For] men, usually, it is like, 'Oh, we like him, we like him, we like him – yeah, let him go through'. Women really need a sponsor. [For] women, it's that they really need a partner that's gonna put his heart on the table. The people that are making the decision, they're men. It's men who need to defend a woman. That's very difficult. We need to convince an older man to fight for us at the decision table, to make us partners. It's difficult 'cause, spontaneously, I get along better with women, but women have no power. So, here, there is a senior woman that is a partner, and we get along very well, but she doesn't have the power to make me partner. But it is not only that; sometimes ambition and confidence are perceived in a negative way in the case of women. So, you really need to convince someone that it's worth it to really fight for you at the decision table. So, that's very difficult. (Canadian, female, senior associate, 37)

Furthermore, the Canadian female partners highlighted that female lawyers need more gender-specific mentoring related to navigating their own way in a male dominated environment:

> The mentoring that I received from a female partner wasn't great because she was not very well appreciated at the firm. [. . .] I really do want to help women by acting as their mentors. It makes sense because I am, at this point, the only female equity partner here who has children, so I'm a good model. I'm putting them into interesting mandates and things like that. So, I think that I'm trying to be the mentor that I was hoping to have had. So, I'm also teaching them to have more confidence in themselves and not to waste too much time on things that are less relevant in this work. Perfectionism is another thing that holds women back, so I am trying to tell women that they don't have to be perfect. I tell them to go more out for dinners with their male clients, so I am also advising them on proper clothing or a good sale on clothing. It's just all of that and accepting the fact that we are women, not just all trying to be men. I think it's useful. So, I've had a lot of women who are now on maternity leave come to speak to me about how they manage it and should they be working while they're on maternity leave, and I always say 'no'. When you compare the length of your legal career to the length of maternity leave, it makes little difference if you are a half-year or one year away from here, and children grow so fast and need all your attention as a mother. So, there's a lot of that advice that they wouldn't get if you were asking a man. (Canadian, female, partner, 52)

It appears that the guidance female lawyers receive might differ according to whom they ask for it. The male partners emphasised a willingness to work extremely long hours to generate monetary profits. The female partners, who went through the experience of juggling the demands of a growing family and advancing in their legal career as well as difficulties with having their efforts recognised, highlighted women's right to focus exclusively on family life before they make

partner. The issue of not putting their family plans on hold due to career has emerged as especially important now, when opportunities for promotion to partnership are more limited than before (see e.g. Galanter and Henderson 2008; Sterling and Reichman 2016).

Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to analyse forms of soft skills and their role in lawyers' career progression in Finland and Quebec. The approach of Bailly and Léné (2013) was used to identify the soft skills, which are social and interpersonal skills, including care orientation and listening skills, the ability to manage emotions and handle pressure, skills in business development and the 'proper' attitude and personality. Many of these skills also appear to relate more to people's cultural and social capital (Bourdieu 1986) than the skills and qualifications developed through formal education and training. This raises concerns about who gets access to these skills and how – an issue that has implications in terms of social inclusion and discrimination in training, mentoring and skill recognition (Adams and Demaiter 2008; Grugulis and Vincent 2009; Bailly and Léné 2013).

This research provides evidence of how soft skills operate as a powerful yet subjective, network-based and gendered process that contribute to the reproduction of masculine ideals around professionalism and career progression in private law practice. The findings also indicate the converging trend of the rising centrality of soft skills across the labour market (Grugulis and Vincent 2009; Bailly and Léné 2013), including male-dominated professions, such as the legal profession, in which a professional elite and networks continue to play a prominent role in providing younger cohorts of lawyers with opportunities to develop skills required to retain and succeed in the profession. As the top law firms in both countries and globally are still male-dominated (Choroszewicz and Kay forthcoming), the development and recognition of soft skills is mediated by powerful and older men, who have the authority to decide in whom to invest and whose efforts to acknowledge.

This study shows that men's overrepresentation in the legal profession and especially among the leaders of law firms in both countries appears to be linked to the overtly masculine character of soft skills: appearance of confidence, self-promotion, performing, networking and growing the business. The results of this study show that in male-type professions such as the legal profession these attributes are often individualised and seen as more typical of male lawyers (for more, see Guillen et al. 2018). As a result, male lawyers might be more likely to be

recognised and rewarded for their assumed greater efforts. The identified soft skills uncovered behavioural and psychological qualities and attitudes that are biased towards the traditional male life cycle and assumptions around masculinity.

Institutional support to develop these soft skills appears to be scarce, especially in Quebec, which advantages male lawyers in the distribution of mentoring and invitations to work on important files and with important clients (Gorman and Kay 2012). Given the shortage of formal developmental training and mentoring in law firms, the responsibility to develop these skills falls on young lawyers themselves and their individual capacities to build networks and acquire mentors, which may only exacerbate existing gender and age inequalities in law firms. Thus, law firms in both countries should put particular efforts into improving mentoring and developmental practices and programs for their junior lawyers. The senior lawyers should be offered more training on gender sensitivity to eliminate gender bias in assessments of lawyers' performance and skills. Legal education could also play a stronger role in equipping lawyers with soft skills that match the current realities of the legal market.

There is also clearly more work to be done to capture the increasing prominence and consequences of soft skills in male-dominated professions across generations and age cohorts. The emotional aspects of professional identity have been under-researched and undervalued owing to the overemphasis put on hard skills. Future research should also focus on the day-to-day experiences of professionals linked to the increasing personalisation of professional work, skills and identities.

References

Adams, Tracey L., and Erin I. Demaiter. 2008. "Skill, Education and Credentials in the New Economy: The Case of Information Technology Workers." *Work, Employment and Society* 22(2): 351–362.

Bailly, Franck, and Alexandre Léné. 2013. "The Personification of the Service Labour Process and the Rise of Soft Skills: A French Case Study." *Employee Relations* 35(1): 79–97.

Bennett, Walter. 2001. *Lawyer's Myth: Reviving Ideals in the Legal Profession*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bolton, Sharon C. 2005. *Emotion Management in the Workplace*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bolton, Sharon C., and Daniel Muzio. 2007. "Can't Live with 'Em; Can't Live without 'Em: Gendered Segmentation in the Legal Profession." *Sociology* 41(1): 47–61.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by John G. Richardson, 241–261. New York: Greenwood Press.

Choroszewicz, Marta. 2014. "Managing Competitiveness in Pursuit of a Legal Career. Women Attorneys in Finland and Poland." PhD diss., Joensuu: The University of Eastern Finland.

Choroszewicz, Marta. 2016. "Women Attorneys and Gendering Processes in Law Firms in Helsinki." *Sosiologia* 53(2): 122–137.
Choroszewicz, Marta, and Diane-Gabrielle Tremblay. 2018. "Parental Leave Policy by Male Lawyers in Helsinki and Montreal: Professional and Cultural Barriers to Male Lawyers' Usage of Paternity and Parental Leaves." *International Journal of the Legal Profession* 25(3): 303–316.
Choroszewicz, Marta, and Fiona M. Kay. forthcoming. "Understanding Gender Inequality in the Legal Profession." In *Lawyers in 21st Century Societies. Vol. 2: Comparisons and Theories*, edited by Richard Abel, Hilary Sommerlad, Ole Hammerslev and Ulrike Schultz. Oxford: Hart Publishing.
Collier, Richard. 2015. "Wellbeing in the Legal Profession: Reflections on Recent Developments (Or, What Do We Talk About, When We Talk About Wellbeing?)." *International Journal of the Legal Profession* 23(1): 41–60.
Epstein, Cynthia. 1993. *Women in Law* (2nd ed.). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Galanter, Mark, and William Henderson. 2008. "The Elastic Tournament: A Second Transformation of the Big Law Firm." *Stanford Law Review* 60(6): 1867–1930.
Gilligan, Carol. 1982. *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press.
Granday, Alicia A., James M. Diefendorff, and Deborah E. Rupp. 2013. *Emotional Labor in the 21st Century. Diverse Perspectives on Emotion Regulation at Work*. New York: Routledge.
Grugulis, Irena, and Steven Vincent. 2009. "Whose Skill Is It Anyway? 'Soft' Skills and Polarization." *Work, Employment and Society* 23(4): 597–615.
Guillen, Laura, Margarita Mayo, and Natalia Karelaia. 2018. "Appearing self-confident and getting credit for it: Why it may be easier for men than women to gain influence at work." *Human Resource Management* 57(4): 839–854
Haynes, Kathryn. 2012. "Body Beautiful? Gender, Identity and the Body in Professional Service Firms." *Gender, Work and Organisation* 19(5): 489–507.
Heinz, John P., Robert L. Nelson, Rebecca L. Sandefur, and Edward O. Laumann. 2005. *Urban Lawyers: The New Social Structure of the Bar*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
Hochschild, Arlie. 1983. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkley: University of California Press.
Kay, Fiona M. 2009. "Professional Monopolies and Divisive Practices in Law: 'Les Femmes Juridiques' in Civil Law Canada." *The International Journal of Law in Context* 4(3): 187–215.
Kay, Fiona M., and Elizabeth H. Gorman. 2008. "Women in the Legal Profession." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 4: 299–332.
Kay, Fiona M., and Elizabeth H. Gorman. 2012. "Developmental Practices, Organizational Culture, and Minority Representation in Organizational Leadership: The Case of Partners in Large U.S. Law Firms." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 639(1): 91–113.
Kay, Fiona M., Stacey L. Alarie, and Jones K. Adjei. 2016. "Undermining Gender Equality: Female Attrition from Private Law Practice." *Law and Society Review* 50(3): 766–801.
Koivunen, Tuija. 2016. "Työnhakijoiden Pehmeät Taidot Ulkoistetussa Suorarekrytoinnissa." *Työelämän Tutkimus* 14(2): 153–166.
Lindeman Megan IH, Amanda M. Durik, and Maura Dooley. 2018. "Women and Self-Promotion: A Test of Three Theories." *Psychological Reports* 122(1): 219–230.
Macdonald, Keith M. 1995. *The Sociology of the Professions*. London: Sage.

Pierce, Jennifer. 1995. *Gender Trials: Emotional Lives in Contemporary Law Firms*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Pierce, Jennifer. 2010. "Women and Men as Litigators: Gender Differences on the Job." In *Global Perspectives on Gender and Work: Readings and Interpretations*, edited by Jacqueline Goodman, 177–194. Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Rhode, Deborah L. 2011. "From Platitudes to Priorities: Diversity and Gender Equity in Law Firms." *Georgetown Journal of Legal Ethics* 24: 1041–1077.

Silius, Harriet. 2003. "Women Jurists in Finland at the Turn of the Century: Breakthrough or Intermezzo?" In *Women in the World's Legal Professions*, edited by Ulrike Schultz and Gisele Shaw, 387–400. Oxford: Hart.

Sommerlad, Hilary. 2016. "'A Pit to Put Women in': Professionalism, Work Intensification, Sexualisation and Work–Life Balance in the Legal Profession in England and Wales." *International Journal of the Legal Profession* 23(1): 61–82.

Sterling, Joyce S., and Nancy Reichman. 2016. "Overlooked and Undervalued: Women in Private Law Practice." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 12(7): 373–393.

Thornton, Margaret. 1996. *Dissonance and Distrust: Women in the Legal Profession*. Oxford: Oxford.

Tremblay, Diane-Gabrielle. 2013. "Can Lawyers Take Parental Leaves and If So, with What Impacts? The Case of Quebec." *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal* 25(3): 177–197.

José Hildo de Oliveira Filho

6 Athletic Migrant Religiosities and the Making of 'Respectable Men'

Abstract: Brazilians comprise a "global football workforce" (Poli, Ravenel and Besson 2019) as the largest national group of migrant players in contemporary football. Previous ethnographic studies (Rial 2008, 2012) reveal that Brazilian athletes value the opportunity to move across borders. In constructing mobile aspirations, athletes from the Global South attempt to embody a form of respectable masculinity (Esson 2015a; Besnier, Guinness, Hann and Kovač 2018). Although their movement is advantageous to many parties, sports migrants are among the most visible and precarious nodes of sports industries. Athletes are regularly subjected to short-term contracts and premature career termination due to injuries (Roderick 2006). In this chapter, I will analyse how migrant Brazilian football and futsal players construct narratives about their careers, express masculinities and embody religious symbols in the Czech Republic, Lebanon, Austria, and Israel. My analysis is based on life-history interviews with migrant athletes, and informal conversations with one sports agent and one migrant futsal coach (Connell 2010; Butler 2005). Life-history interviews reveal not only how athletes use religious symbols in their everyday life, but also how race, gender, and class are articulated in sports migrants' experiences. This chapter is inspired by my engagement with Talal Asad's "anthropology of secularism" (1987, 2000, 2003) as well as Saba Mahmood's (2001, 2005) analysis of a contemporary women's religious movement in Cairo. I argue that Asad's and Mahmood's analyses of the relationship between religion, agency, pain, and suffering open paths to new understandings and interpretations of the subjective experiences of contemporary sport migrants.

Introduction

Rethinking the relationship between "agency" and "structure" has been one of the central concerns of sociology in the 20th century (Bourdieu 1998; Giddens 1984). In this sense, sports has gained prominence as an arena in which everyday acts of embodiment construct gender, race, and class. Sociologists Pierre Bourdieu (1978), Eric Dunning, and Norbert Elias have productively forged concepts and applied social theories to sports. Elias and Dunning's (2008 [1986]) analysis of sports as a "male preserve" is especially important. These authors

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-007

found that as women demanded equality in the second half of the nineteenth century, men-only sports clubs were created as spaces in which men were allowed to express aggressiveness, homophobia and celebrate homosocial bonds (see also Sheard and Dunning 1973).

The analysis of sports as a male preserve was fruitfully expanded in the sociology of sports during the 1980s and 1990s (see Maguire 1986; Molnar, Amin and Kanemasu 2019), and contemporary sociological work on gender and sports has benefited from a critical perspective on masculinities (Kanemasu and Molnar 2013). However, a growing number of ethnographic works have been challenging the assumption that hegemonic masculinity is predominant in sport. This scholarship has raised issues such as the unpredictability of sports migration routes (Carter 2011; Kovač 2018), the precariousness of sports careers (Roderick 2006; Besnier, Guinness, Hann and Kovač 2018), the importance of family negotiations in sports migration processes (van der Meij and Darby 2017) and religious affiliations of sports migrants (Rial 2012; Guinness 2018).

This chapter thus responds to this paradox. On the one hand, sports has been analysed as a "platform of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity" (Kanemasu and Molnar 2015, 2) while on the other hand, migrant athletes' lives do not necessarily correspond to hegemonic forms of expressing masculinity. In this sense, I consider one of the most important claims of masculinity studies, which is that men do not constitute a monolithic category (Connell 2005 [1995]; Hearn 2015), and I try to understand the complex and at times contradictory relationship between religion, men's athletic bodies, and disciplinary regimes in sports. In this chapter, I present an ethnographic account of Brazilian migrant futsal (a variation of football, usually played indoors) and football players in the Czech Republic, Israel, Lebanon, and Austria.

I will explore the paradox mentioned above by engaging with Talal Asad's studies of "anthropology of secularism" (1987, 2000, 2003) and Saba Mahmood's analysis of contemporary religious movements in Cairo (2001, 2005). My analysis will use the debates in religious studies initiated by Clifford Geertz and Asad to reinforce my argument that sees religion as an embodied form of practice (see also Scott and Hirschkind 2006).

Asad's and Mahmood's attempts to see religion as an embodied symbolic practice are pertinent to my fieldwork with Brazilian migrant athletes. Athletic careers are a form of high-skilled labour that resembles industrial work (Roderick 2006).[1] Athletic careers are also unusually short compared to other professions.

1 Under the influence of Paul Darby (2013) and Alan Klein (1991), some sports migration scholars have focused on sports academies in the Global South. Sports academies are usually

Moreover, athletes tend to be subjected to public scrutiny of their performances, short-term contracts, uncertainty and the risk of injuries and premature career termination. In some cases, such as football, the constant availability of "talented players" pressures footballers to compete with team members for limited available positions (see Damo 2014; Esson 2015a).

Previous research conducted in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Fiji, Ghana, Senegal, Cameroon, and Brazil analysed the importance of sports careers to young people in the Global South. Sports careers are often conceived as a form of enacting a "respectable masculinity" (Besnier, Guinness, Hann and Kovač 2018; Esson 2015b; Hann 2018; Guinness 2018; Klein 1991). In sports migration studies, "respectable masculinity" is usually associated with the ability of athletes to provide for extended family members, through remittances. I, however, argue that material gains should be seen as one of the main elements of respectability, while a further analysis of players' injuries and their negotiations with sports disciplinary regimes points to different meanings of respectability in athletes' everyday lives.

Although there is a growing literature about sports migration and gender, most sports migration studies ignore the relationship between agency, injuries and pain. As I will argue, the absence of consideration of injuries disregards a vital part of athletes' careers and hinders understanding of the various ways migrant players use religious symbols to both discipline their bodies and negotiate with secular medical discourses.[2] In this sense, an analysis of the relationship between secular scientific discourses and male athletes' religiosities questions oppositions usually associated with "secularism" such as modern/traditional, East/West, and male/female, in which men are associated with "reason" and "modernity" and women with "tradition" and "religion". Thus, an analysis of migrant athletes' religiosities offers new ways to understand athletic masculinities.

---

understood as educational institutions in which children and adolescents are socialised, disciplined and constantly evaluated. Thus, these sports scholars tended to discuss sports as "labour", and place sports labour in wider conceptual frameworks such as world-systems analysis, neoliberalism, and transnationalism. The concept of career has been given little space in sports migration scholarship. To discuss "careers", I have found inspiration in Matthew Roderick's (2006) works with footballers, and Howard Becker's (1952, 1993, 2008) works with public school teachers and doctors. For Becker, careers connect individuals to social structures, institutions, and formal and informal networks while fusing the "subjective" and the "objective" in roles and statuses that are collectively recognised.

2 Mari Engh (2018) analysed transnational religious practices of Nigerian migrant women footballers in Scandinavia. Engh's ethnographic account could be used to develop a transnational, gendered comparative analysis of athletes' use of religious symbols in their migration processes. She, however, ignored injuries and pain in her analysis.

First, I will detail the methodological possibilities and limitations of my study of Brazilian athletic transnational migration. I will then examine how Asad constructed his perspective on religion and secularism and discuss more contemporary accounts of sports migration, situating these ethnographic accounts in relation to my current interpretations. Throughout this chapter, I seek to demonstrate the intimate connection between the use of religious symbols and the precariousness of sports careers.[3]

Data and Methodology

This chapter is based on an ongoing multi-sited ethnographic project (Marcus 1995; Hannerz 2003). The project's main goal is to understand the life-histories of Brazilian migrant male futsal and football players (Atkinson 1998; Connell 2010). The current chapter is based on 12 life-history interviews with futsal and football players, as well as informal conversations with one migrant futsal coach and one sports agent. All the interviews were conducted in Portuguese, and lasted between 30 and 90 minutes. The interviews were transcribed and coded manually.

While my current study might not be able to systematically compare futsal and football players' various experiences and life histories due to the methodological limitations I face, I argue that researchers should compare futsal and football because, as the athletes I interviewed and a futsal coach familiar with the football industry in Brazil confirmed, Brazilian athletes tend to practice both sports in their childhood and early adolescence. At around the ages of sixteen or seventeen, athletes must specialise in one of these categories.[4]

In this sense, futsal and football players participate in the same process of early athletic professionalisation. There is a *continuum* between these sports. However, these sports subject players to different market demands and imagined

3 The precariousness of athletic careers is not a "male preserve". Research on migrant women footballers in Scandinavia analysed footballers' low salaries, precarious living conditions and short-term contracts. The racialised representations present in the world of women's football have also been examined (see Agergaard and Botelho 2011; Agergaard and Ungruhe 2016; Engh, Settler, and Agergaard 2017; Engh 2018).

4 While at first I thought about including women athletes in my current research, I soon understood that women's football has specific features. Women can play professionally only in around 20 countries, of those registered at FIFA (see Tiesler 2016). In this sense, women's football has produced a distinct political economy and geography. Comparisons of the migration of women and men athletes are still rare. For the beginning of such scholarship, see Agergaard and Ungruhe 2016.

geographies. While football's core leagues are still entrenched in Western Europe, futsal offers players a route to Central and Eastern European clubs, where there are leagues considered prestigious in the futsal world, such as those in Russia and Kazakhstan.

My access to both of these sports illustrates how unequally the world of sports is structured. To gain access to migrant futsal players, I would simply go to matches and wait until the crowd was gone, and players were still resting on the courts. I would then present myself as a Brazilian PhD student based in the Czech Republic, and ask to schedule interviews at breaks in the league schedule, and before or after training sessions.

Access to footballers was often mediated by club officials. I would usually email the clubs, and ask either that they send me players' personal contacts or to forward my emails to the players themselves. If a player was interested in participating in my study, he could contact me, and tell me when he would have time for an interview.

In fact, the main topics of this chapter; religion, injuries and pain, only gradually became worthy of pursuit during my fieldwork. The first football club I contacted responded to my request for an interview in an unexpected manner. A club official told me that the Brazilian player on their team, Joaquim,[5] had returned to Brazil for surgery. I would have wait two months to interview him. It was the temporary impossibility to meet Joaquim that made me aware of the importance of injuries. When we finally met, the relationship between injuries and religion became clearer. In my subsequent meetings and life-history interviews with migrant athletes, I explicitly brought up the topics of injuries, religion and pain.[6]

Life-history interviews seemed appropriate for understanding athletes' migration and careers because I recognised that professional players, regardless of their gender, participate in a career that begins early in life, and each of the steps football and futsal players take are marked by clear rites of passage. However, as I will detail later, as the course of my fieldwork evolved, I found that young Brazilian men take unpredictable paths to become professional footballers.

5 I have changed the names of players and do not identify their clubs to protect the athletes' privacy. Athletes' privacy is also protected by the translation process involved in my study. I have translated the interview materials from Portuguese to English when writing my ethnographic account.

6 The importance of religion to professional athletes from the Global South is an emerging topic in sports migration scholarship, and recent ethnographic accounts have been building a bridge between sports studies and the global reach of religious symbols. For a detailed ethnographic account of migrant footballers' and rugby players' relationship with religion, see Rial 2012 and Guinness 2018.

Life-history interviews also allow researchers to understand how race, gender and class intersect, as people recount their stories. In interpreting life-histories, researchers should be attentive to the heterogeneity and contradictions of personal narratives (see Crenshaw 1991; Butler 2005; Connell 2010).

In the next section, I will analyse how Asad's perspectives on religion, agency and pain can be fruitful in the analysis of athletic migrant masculinities.

From Contemporary Debates in Religious Studies to Masculinities and Sports

The two most prominent approaches in sociology of religion try to see religion either on "its own terms" or as part of broader social and historical contexts. These approaches are based on two fundamentally difficult questions in the study of religion: How can one separate a "religious experience" from a "secular" one? What makes this possible?

Classical sociologists such as Émile Durkheim (1995 [1912]) and Max Weber (2009 [1905]) exemplify these different approaches. While Durkheim searched for an universal definition of religion, one that considers religious institutions to be responsible for the division between spheres of the sacred and the profane, Max Weber was more interested in the mutual reinforcement of religious discourses, institutions and the conduct of everyday life.[7]

The ideas of these two classical sociologists shared some key characteristics. Weber and Durkheim freed themselves from Enlightenment questioning of the "truth of religions" by looking for the various ways that religion is part of the social structure or by analysing how religious concepts travel to the secular world. Although these authors used radically different methodologies, both insisted on an evolutionary view that saw no place for religion in the contemporary world (see also Casanova 2011).

However, recent polemics in the anthropology of religion have also pointed to the theoretical and methodological difficulties researchers face when dealing with religious studies. Geertz's (1968, 2005) definition of religion as a "cultural system" and Asad's (1982, 1983, 2003) critique of Geertz's positions reveal the limits and possibilities researchers face when addressing religion as an object of study.

7 Asad's genealogy of the secular has dealt with both the Durkheimian and Weberian legacies. For a critical analysis of Durkheim's views on religion, see Asad (2003). In his most recent book, Asad (2018) criticised Weber's views on the relationship between Christianity and secularism.

For instance, Geertz (2000 [1973], 90) defines religion as:

> (1) a system of symbols which act to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.

Geertz understands symbols and meanings as public acts. In this sense, religious symbols could be observed and analysed not only in sacred places or religious celebrations but also in other areas of social life. Nevertheless, Geertz tends to emphasise the usual places in which religious meanings can be located: rituals, celebrations, beliefs.

However, unlike the classical sociologists, Geertz does not profess the "end of religion." Far from it, he understands that the role of religion in a postcolonial world has never been more relevant (see also Meyer 2008). Constructing a comparative perspective of the two main sites where he wrote his ethnographic accounts during the Cold War, Morocco and Indonesia, Geertz (2005) was forced to affirm that religion was not dying in the contexts in which he worked.

As Geertz's definition of religion questioned the "secularisation thesis," Asad (1982) contested this definition from a different standpoint. Asad argues that Geertz's definition of "religion" was ill-defined. Because Geertz was working with the concept of public meaning, he saw culture and religion as historically and interactively constructed symbolic systems, and affirmed that no clear differentiation exists between "symbols" and the "meanings" they convey. For Asad, however, "symbols" have no "meaning" in isolation. Asad proposes building a "genealogy of the secular". Only a perspective that is historically grounded and attentive to power relations could go beyond Geertz's *sui generis* presentation of religious symbols (Asad 1983, 238–240).

In building this "genealogy of the secular",[8] Asad (1982, 2003) continued his criticism of Geertz for presenting a universalistic definition of religion. Religion, Asad contended, was embedded in historical contexts and no trans-historical definition of religion, even if provisional, as was Geertz's, could account for the changes in religious authority from the Middle Ages to the present.[9] Asad focused on the questions, "how have we come to think the way we think about

8 Asad (2003, 36) argued that both secular and religious practices should be approached through a perspective on power (political economy), the disciplinary regimes involved, and an attentive eye to what "makes these practices conceptually possible, desirable, mandatory".

9 In this debate, Geertz never answered Asad's critiques. Geertz (2005, 14) only mentions Asad's work in a footnote of his Sir James Frazer lecture at Cambridge University in 2004.

"the secular"? How did we develop a 'secular sensibility' to deal with the world?", and made *power* a central feature of religion.

Asad (2009) does not provide any definition of secularism. However, in Asad's work, secularism is subjected to a criticism that seeks to understand the exclusions and suppressions present in the very concept of the "secular".[10]

Thus, we might ask, along with Asad, how religious athletes negotiate the secularised world of sports that surrounds them.

As I will discuss next, an answer to this question may be found in the precariousness of athletic careers. In this context, religion would help athletes face the risks associated with a career in sports and give them meaningful tools for dealing with the daily uncertainty associated with their professional careers.

I will illustrate the pertinence of Asad's anthropology of secularism for analysing sports migration by focusing on a theme that permeates Asad's works: agency and pain. Next, I will analyse two narratives about recovery from injury. The analysis of athletes' narratives helps to understand how the use of religious symbols and players' submission to pain provide them with specific forms of agency, opening a constant negotiation between players' religiosities and secularised sports environments.

Agency and Pain

In contrast with the common view that sees pain as a condition that impedes agency and hinders reason, Asad (1997a) contends that the psychology of pain has taught us that resistance to pain is seen to take a wide variety of forms. Furthermore, Asad's genealogy of the secular points to our secular sensibility as an impediment to seeing agency in pain (Asad 1987, 2000, 2003). Secular sensibilities associate pain and suffering with religious subjectivities, and antagonise pain, suffering and reason.

Pain, like competition, is not new to sports studies. Michael Messner (1992) analysed sports injuries as forms of self-inflicted violence. Athletes would have to abide to masculine codes of conduct and perform in pain. Daniel Guinness' (2014) analysis of Fijian rugby migration, and Thomas Carter's (2011) ethnographies with

10 Inspired by Asad's genealogy of the secular, Joan Scott (2009) has shown that there were no ready-made connections between the ideals of the French revolutionaries and women's demands to stand as equals in the eighteenth century. Scott's reflection also draws upon Saba Mahmood's ethnography to develop an analysis of the recent polemics concerning the ban of the headscarf in contemporary France.

hockey players are also constructed around the ubiquity of pain. However, none of these authors address the possible relationship between pain and religious symbols (see also Carter 2012). In my fieldwork, I found that pain is often taken as an unavoidable part of athletes' lives. In this sense, when Asad (2003, 91) examined the ways in which various religious "traditions use pain to create a space for moral action", he opened new ways for ethnographers to think about the relationship between pain,[11] religion and sports (see also Asad 1987).

Mahmood's (2001) ethnography of women's religious movements in Cairo has inspired researchers to reflect on different modalities of agency. Mahmood provides examples of contemporary Muslim women mobilising religious symbols to effect changes in their family lives and religious authority. Women analysed in Mahmood's ethnography do not mobilise explicit feminist discourses. In some instances, the ethics women express when dealing with both orthodox Islamic tradition and secularised places of work lead them to a sequence of practices that reinforces pious virtues. In this sense, Mahmood, building upon Asad's works, suggests that researchers should focus on understanding the specific grammar of people's actions (see also Mittermaier 2012). According to Mahmood, women enact Islamic virtues by training their bodies through a sequence of actions.

Mahmood urges researchers to avoid falling into analyses based on a binary relation between "compliance" and "resistance". In this sense, Mahmood's injunction to focus on different modalities of agency can be fruitfully applied to understanding Brazilian migrant athletes' dealings with injuries and pain. For instance, in my first meeting with a Brazilian futsal player in the Czech Republic, João, he told me:

> Me: How did you end up here [in the Czech Republic]?
>
> João: Well, I'm 36. I'm already an experienced player. I played in Azerbaijan, and Russia before playing here. And the first time I played here in the Czech Republic was because we were playing a UEFA Champions League match. Then I went back to Brazil because of an injury. And a coach from the Czech Republic called me, and asked if I would like to play here. At that time, there were three teams trying to hire me. But I made a deal with this coach, because he told me: 'You can trust me' And I replied: 'Yes, I trust you'. [he pauses] I am very grateful for all that futsal has given me . . .

11 Asad (1997b, 303) argues that modern societies do not reject all forms of pain. Modernity addresses pain as long as it results from "appropriate actions" and "rests on a calculus". Sport constructs its relationship with pain as an expression of efforts to cope with both the inherent risks of intense physical activity and a maximising of players' productive capacities. The embodiment of religious symbols is based on diverse sources of authority and histories.

João continued to describe how he recovered from his injury in the Czech Republic, and the club's pressure for him to perform.

> João: Well, you know, people in Europe like Brazilians [meaning Brazilian players], but there is a lot of pressure on us. You work, you know that people will always pressure you for results. In the first two matches we faced in this championship, we lost the first one and the second one was a draw. And all the time, people in the club were telling me to play. And I responded to them: 'I can't play now. I'm still in pain." This is my third match here, and now I feel I can play".

João does not provide a full account of the risks faced in his futsal career, but his statement emphasises the constant pressure for results in professional sports. An injured player is usually regarded as unable to earn his place (Roderick 2006). However, in João's case, his injury and refusal to play in the first two matches mark a peculiar form of agency. While I could argue that João resisted the pressure to play, he does not articulate the narrative of his refusal to play as a form of "resistance". Instead, he focused on how he was hired, by a direct call from the club's coach, and the assurance that he was signing a contract based on trust. Trust here is an important feature because João's dealings with pain and his delay in performing could be interpreted as indicating he was not interested in the team's goals. Meanwhile, the pressure on him was mounting because in those first matches, there was no victory.

João's overcoming of pain also follows mainly from his relationship with the club's coach because most of the futsal clubs in the Czech context have minimal medical staff and often rely on the Czech public health care system to treat injured players.[12]

After João and I exchanged contacts, I noticed Biblical messages in his WhatsApp conversations, along with pictures of the match at which we met. Most of these messages addressed the ideal time to wait to return to play and the ability to have patience. In sharing these Biblical messages, João found the appropriate audience with whom to share his daily struggles with pain: his family and friends in Brazil.

João's history not only concerns his use of religious symbols and his inability to control pain in the first two matches in the Czech Republic. As in Asad's analysis, João mobilised religious symbols when dealing with "secular" medical

12 It is important to note that the trust in João's story is not an analytical category. I interpret trust as an element of his overcoming of pain. Both Asad and Geertz were strongly influenced by Ludwig Wittgenstein who, in his *Philosophical Investigations*, argued that the expression of pain (to say "I am in pain") is a way to ask for social recognition (see Wittgenstein 1958, aphorisms 244–253).

discourses.[13] When I asked João to detail his recovery process and his religious affiliation, he replied,

> I went two weeks without training. I have my own physiotherapy equipment. So, I partially recovered with the help of a friend, a physiotherapist. I know that what I cannot do, Jesus does for me. He already cured me of much more serious injuries, like one to my pubis. At that time, I thought I would never play again. I have Christ as my strong pillar.

It seems to be common for football and futsal players who experience serious injuries to acquire at least some physiotherapy equipment to speed up their healing processes. João is not only referring to his personal equipment, and his physiotherapist friend as necessary conditions for recovery. Both the equipment and his friend's knowledge have clear limits in his view. In religious athletes' life-histories, injuries are portrayed as crisis moments that demand interventions from a higher power.

As I will show in the next part of this chapter, João's history also illustrates other aspects of athletic migration. In keeping with the precariousness of athletic careers, sports migrants face precarious living conditions. For instance, when I tried to contact João for another interview, he responded through WhatsApp that he was no longer in the Czech Republic. He was back in Brazil. He also told me that the club he was representing in the Czech futsal league had been dissolved. At first, unable to understand what had happened, I began to search online for news in the Czech sports press about the dissolution of this particular club. In fact, João's club officially stated that it had left the Czech futsal league to protest against corruption in the Czech Futsal Association.

In all my contacts with João or his wife, I noticed no hint of complaints about the treatment that he had received in the Czech Republic, in spite of the fact that his contract ended abruptly. Nevertheless, João's history of recovery from injury points to various ways athletes may use religious symbols not only to discipline themselves, but also to negotiate with various club officials and medical discourses.

In fact, only one year after the corruption charges were made public was I able to understand more about the Czech futsal club for which João played. Using social media, I located another Brazilian who had played on the same club, Jessé, who was playing in Lebanon at the time we talked. I invited him for an interview over WhatsApp, and asked him about the Czech club's official statement.

---

13 While views on how "secular" sports might differ, recent attempts to conceptualize sports as a "sacred phenomenon" share my concern to avoid conflating sports and religion. This chapter's use of Asad is close to what Shilling and Mellor (2014, 360–363) see as "the sporting secular sacred".

Jessé told me that the corruption charges were unfounded. The club's president could not meet players' payments on time, and the lodgings provided to migrant players often had the hot water turned off because the clubs had not paid its bills. He also told me he had not received his last payment in total. When the club was dissolved, Jessé was injured, and club officials only paid him half of his salary.

Futsal seasons last 8 to 10 months. Depending on players' migrant status, and family situation, after these periods, they are obliged to go back to Brazil. Players who go home must decide if they will take a job with a Brazilian team, or wait for their agents or their contacts to offer them a contract abroad.

In this sense, João's and Jessé's narratives illustrate the precariousness and fluidity of sports migration. João spent two weeks back in Brazil after he was released from the Czech club. He then went to Russia, on an even shorter and more precarious contract, to play in the UEFA Futsal Champions League. Jessé went back to Brazil to recover from an injury at a friend's clinic. After four months in Brazil, he went to Slovakia, and is now playing in Lebanon, also on a shorter and more precarious contract.

Researchers have analysed recent changes in capitalism, and the racialised and gendered regimes that constrain migrants into precarious lives (Lewis, Dwyer, Hodkinson and Waite 2015). While most of the Brazilian futsal players I met in the Czech Republic would consider themselves white, Jessé's complaints about the housing conditions and the unexpected cut in his last payment could be interpreted to indicate that his club's financial problems combined with a form of racialising Brazilian futsal players. Racialisation, in this case, deemed that some players were unworthy of adequate housing, and the previously agreed-upon payment (see also McIntyre and Nast 2011).

"Respectability", Religion and Commodified Sports

"Respectability" is a concept that has been used to reflect on the motivations that drive young men to a career in sports. It refers to an athlete's ability to provide for their extended families,[14] and to assert respectable masculinities. In Besnier's ethnographic works with Fijian migrant rugby players, they constantly

14 While football gives greater visibility and higher salaries to male athletes, providing for extended families is also expected from highly successful women footballers (see Tiesler 2016).

compare themselves with other migrant workers to assert that they can send more remittances back home (Besnier 2012, 2014, 2015; Besnier, Brownell and Carter 2017; Besnier, Guinness, Hann and Kovač 2018). These comparisons are one of the ways in which they strive to gain "respect".

Other ethnographers have examined this process from different angles. Daniel Guinness (2018, 316) constructed his analysis around what he called "anthropologies of destiny" to analyse the various local discourses used by actors in the sports industry to legitimise the success of migrant Fijian rugby players. These discourses are often based on different and, at times, conflicting or complementary forms of authority. Some discourses are based on Pentecostalism,[15] others are based on purely secular claims, such as the discourse of professionalism, and there are discourses that associate Fijian bodies to a certain "natural predisposition" to play rugby. I understand that both Guinness's "anthropology of destiny" and Besnier's reflections on athletic migrant "respectability" are efforts to analyse the same processes, namely the various ways that athletes construct career trajectories and migration as subjective experiences.

In the course of my fieldwork, I encountered situations that could be approximated to Guinness's notion of anthropologies of destiny. But I cannot affirm that professional Brazilian migrant football and futsal players construct their narratives about themselves and their careers using notions of "destiny". In some instances, I was reminded of footballers' early promises to their parents that they would succeed at a career in sports, as if these promises constituted self-fulfilling prophecies. However, these promises were often followed by the unpredictable paths that footballers took to become professionals. Pedro, a Brazilian footballer currently working in Israel's first division is one example. He told me,

> I started playing futsal at my school. I always played on the school futsal team. When I was 11, we played Flamengo in the final match of a championship. We lost that game pretty badly. It was 5-1. But I played really well. I was competing for the most valuable player of the championship award. Then, the Flamengo staff invited me for a try out. I went, and I passed and they took me in to play futsal there. In my first year, it was only futsal, then in my second year I began training for football too. After my second year, I was playing futsal and football. And I played three years there. But it began to get in the way of school. School and training were at the same time. So I had to miss lots of classes. [. . .] Then I told my mother I was going to give up on football and start to study. I was going to take a test to become an air force sergeant. One day, a former physical education

15 Pentecostalism originated as a mixture between African-American spirituality and Methodism. Pentecostalism is said to have started at a prayer marathon in Los Angeles. Important features of Pentecostalism are an emphasis on a direct relationship with the Holy Spirit and the manifestation of spiritual gifts, such as speaking in tongues. Davis (2004) links Pentecostalism and global poverty.

> teacher invited me to play at the "Favelas Cup". I agreed. We came in third, but I was the top goal scorer of that "Favelas Cup", and a football agent, who was there, scouted me. He came up with an offer, and I showed it to my parents. My mother then told me: "If you want to try again, go ahead and do it".

As Nienke Van der Meij and Paul Darby (2017) note, the precariousness of athletic careers is also associated with different family negotiations and expectations about the career prospects of young men. In Pedro's case, in a family composed of military men, a military career had always been posed as a possibility. We can see that Pedro's family, especially his mother, whom he mentioned regularly in the interview, moved from being suspicious to encouraging because Pedro had finished high school when he met his current football agent.

His mother's constant pressure for Pedro to at least finish high school meant that after school he could expand his career options. While Pedro's story resembles Guinness's analysis of Fijian rugby players in the sense that there is a constant interaction between Fijian military and sports careers, I cannot say that Pedro presented me with a fully developed narrative in which an "anthropology of destiny" appeared.

The fact that my work did not find a full "anthropology of destiny", but greater focus on "respectability", may be related to the methodological limitations I faced. The fact that I opted for interviews as the primary method of analysis created challenges and limitations. By looking for a lengthy career narrative, I adopted "how" questions, as Howard Becker (1952, 1993, 2008) recommends.

When researching doctors, Becker became increasingly aware that asking "why did you become a doctor?" is not an intriguing question. Doctors would usually find a straightforward answer to this question. In looking for a narrative, he had to ask "how did you become a doctor"? The shift to "how questions" propelled people to reflect on their trajectories and present them in a narrative form.

Pedro's story also struck me because his family was connected to a neo-Pentecostal church, and he would often raise the possibility of becoming a pastor in the future. In this sense, there were moments in the interview when he would lament the isolation in which he was living in Northern Israel, far not only from his family and friends, but also from any Brazilian "evangelical" churches.

"Respectability", in Pedro's words, comes in the form of a definitive gift (Mauss 1990 [1950]) to his mother. Pedro gave me a full account of one of his major career goals in a form that resembles a long-term promise to his mother:

> Pedro: My mother has a dream of owning her own home. I used to tell her "I'll buy you a house, keep calm, and you'll see". [. . .] I have a celebration that I perform every time I score a goal. It's like this [he joins his hands to form a triangle, like a roof]. It's a roof. With each goal that I score a little brick goes into my mother's house. Surely that will be

> the best title that I can ever get in my career. If I do this [buy a house for his mother], I'll be happy with football.

In contrast, we can see that "destinies" in sports careers must be compared with different career trajectories in both football and futsal. On the one hand, futsal players tend to have longer careers, with shorter matches and less intensive training sessions than footballers. Some futsal athletes can play into their early 40s, which is very rare in football. On the other hand, futsal players do not expect footballers' high salaries. In this sense, investments in higher education are much more common among futsal players than footballers.

"Destinies" can also be contrasted with class (see Fuentes and Guinness 2019). Class has a decisive influence in sports career trajectories. More established middle-class families are able to place their children in the best training facilities and sports academies, presenting them with a more secure career path in sports. Miguel, who is currently working in Austria, told me,

> Hmm . . . Career start . . . I mean I have always played football, that's the reality. Ever since I can remember I used to play on the street, wherever I was, I would play. Then I joined the São Paulo juniors' team, São Bento, a team that's close to my city in the state of São Paulo. After that I joined the Palmeiras base-team. And after that I joined Red Bull Brasil. This was the last club that I played for in my formative years. When I was 17, I signed a professional contract.

Miguel's story shows that sports migration can reinforce middle class family trajectories. After he established himself in Austria and later in Germany, he brought his brother to live with him for two years so he could learn German. Miguel also told me that his parents would drive him long distances across São Paulo state to find the most prestigious football academies for him. In this sense, Miguel constructs a middle-class masculinity that emphasises his family background, early professional incentives, and his current ability to be fully realised in his career. Contrary to lower-class footballers, he has not mentioned any special gift that he would like to give back to his family.

Class differences are vital to understanding athletes' diverse trajectories in both the futsal and football industries. However, class did not become salient when I asked migrant Brazilian players directly about religion. For these players, "being religious" carried widely different meanings. For some, there was an admission that their relative isolation made them more religious than in Brazil. In these cases, religion mostly functioned as a form of "community", and particularly for practitioners of Pentecostal religions, Mahmood's (2005, 173) analysis that one can embody the highest virtuous behaviour through a strict bodily self-discipline was constantly expressed in their remarks. Religion was also often used to make sense of cultural differences and to contrast

Brazilian teams with European ones. Joaquim, a footballer in the Czech second division told me:

> In Brazil, we are very united. Here [in the Czech Republic], players deceive each other for no reason. It's not good for the team. For instance, I play as left-back, and sometimes I need to attack. But I also need for the defenders to communicate with me. The guy that's playing with us now doesn't want to communicate. Even if he spoke Czech, I would understand, I know basic Czech. Today, I even saw the coach talking to him, telling him he needs to communicate with me. He [the coach] told the guy: "Speak Czech to him, he'll get you."

I made a literal translation of Joaquim's statement, "[i]n Brazil, we are very united", which he made to express that "in Brazil, we form a strong team". There is a strong sense of common identification among players in contrast with the Czech Republic. This sense of identification is tied with religious rituals before matches, such as praying together. As such, Joaquim pointed to an important distinction between himself, a religious player, and his Czech teammates. In his narrative, Joaquim contrasted different ways of being in the world, and playing football. He sees his way as being more ethical and team-oriented than that of the Czech players. Miguel also told me that praying before matches was not possible because "in Brazil, everyone is either Catholic or 'Evangelical', so they pray the same way and whole teams can pray together. But here [in Europe] there are lots of Muslim players, and they pray differently".

Thus, "a respectable masculinity" is not only connected to social mobility and the possibility to give something back to family members who had been supportive during one's initial attempts to build a career in sports. "Respectability" is also based on a constant negotiation with athletic disciplinary regimes,[16] different cultures and the rationalised world of sports, as the examples of João and Jessé show (Connell 2005 [1995]).

In this sense, Mahmood's (2001, 838) view of the body as a "site of moral training and cultivation" points towards novel forms of understanding sports pedagogies, athletes' religiosities, gender, and migration. While previous interpretations of sports injuries (Messner 1992) argued that athletes' experiences with injuries and pain result from athletes' compliance with masculine codes of conduct in sports, Asad's (2003, 1986) and Mahmood's (2005) attempts to go beyond the binary of "compliance" and "resistance" by focusing on the grammar of different modalities of agency shifts our attention to the ways that

16 Guinness (2014, 160) has defined professional athletic discipline as regimes "of training, medical attention, and management of nutritional intake". These disciplinary regimes are an integral part of professionalism in contemporary sports.

religion, pain, and suffering might be enacted by diverse athletes at different circumstances in their careers.

The case of corruption analysed above illustrates a vital methodological difficulty found in sports migration studies. As the corruption accusations in Czech futsal demonstrate, researchers should not only explore topics that athletes feel comfortable talking about but also topics that often remain in the background. A geographical and temporal distance made Jessé more willing to share his story and discuss the precarious conditions he had faced in the Czech Republic. After I heard his story, I was able to confirm it with other former players on that team. In this sense, masculinity was present not only in stories such as João's, but also in what was hidden to me as an outsider – the highly precarious conditions of sports careers. In trying to account for athletic masculinities, researchers should be attentive to what athletes might hide in the stories they tell.

What Do these Narratives Tell Us? Some Final Remarks

In this chapter, using ideas developed by Asad and Mahmood, I have tried to show that religion is an embodied mode of being in the world. The relationship between religious symbols and embodiment practices become most visible in moments of pain, in which athletes' injuries risk their career prospects. These moments signal different possibilities of agency within sports disciplinary regimes.

I have also tried to show that a focus on the use of religious symbols must account for the various ways these symbols might be enacted in players' everyday embodiment practices, the various intersections articulated in athletes' narratives, and their transnational practices.

I argued that it is important to compare the migration processes in football and futsal. Although provisional, my ethnographic account points to a *continuum* between these sports. In Brazil, football and futsal players participate in the same process of early professionalisation, but their careers subject them to different migration routes and material expectations. Further studies with migrant Brazilian athletes could uncover hierarchies and power relations among men (Connell 2005 [1995]; Messner 1992), and the various ways migrant players might provide researchers the opportunity to question the concept of hegemonic masculinity.

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank Vlad Naumescu for his comments and fierce criticism. I would also like to thank Ju Li, Prem Kumar Rajaram, Judit

Bodnár, Ayşe Çağlar, and Ildikó Chikán for welcoming me at Central European University's sociology department. I would not have thought about sports migration as a fascinating topic without Dino Numerato's constant encouragement and supervision. Eva Válková, Arnošt Svoboda, and Wojciech Woźniak also contributed with challenging insights. Janne Salminen, Kadri Aavik, and Jeffrey Hoff provided invaluable critical remarks to help bring my writing to its present form.

References

Agergaard, Sine, and Christian Ungruhe. 2016. "Ambivalent precarity: Career trajectories and temporalities in highly skilled sports labor migration from West Africa to Northern Europe." *Anthropology of Work Review* 37(2): 67–78.

Agergaard, Sine and Vera Botelho. 2011. "Female football migration: Motivational Factors for Early Migratory Processes." In *Sport and Migration: Borders, Boundaries and Crossings*, edited by Joseph Maguire and Mark Falcous, 157–172. London: Routledge.

Asad, Talal. 1982. "The Construction of Religion as an Anthropological Category." In *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, 27–54. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Asad, Talal. 1983. "Anthropological Conceptions of Religion: Reflections on Geertz." *Man* 18(2): 237–259.

Asad, Talal. 1986. "Medieval heresy: An anthropological view." *Social History* 11(3): 345–362.

Asad, Talal. 1987. "On ritual and discipline in medieval Christian monasticism." *Economic and Society* 16(2): 159–203.

Asad, Talal. 1997a. "Remarks on the anthropology of the body." In *Religion and the Body*, edited by Sarah Coakley, 42–52. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Asad, Talal. 1997b. "On Torture, or Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment." In *Social Suffering*, edited by Arthur Kleinman, Veena Das, and Margaret Lock, 285–308, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Asad, Talal. 2000. "Agency and Pain: An Exploration." *Culture and religion: An interdisciplinary Journal* 1(1): 29–60.

Asad, Talal. 2003. *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Asad, Talal. 2018. *Secular Translations: Nation-State, Modern Self and Calculative Reason*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Asad, Talal, Wendy Brown, Judith Butler, and Saba Mahmood. 2009. *Is Critique Secular? Blasphemy, Injury, and Free Speech*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Atkinson, Robert. 1998. *The Life Story Interview*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Becker, Howard S. 2008. *Tricks of the Trade: How to Think About Your Research While You're Doing It*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Becker, Howard S. 1993. "How I learned What a Crock Was." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 22(1): 28–35.

Becker, Howard S. 1952. "The Career of the Chicago Public Schoolteacher." *American Journal of Sociology* 470–477.

Besnier, Niko. 2012. "The Athlete's Body and the Global Condition: Tongan Rugby Players in Japan." *American Ethnologist* 39(3): 491–510.
Besnier, Niko. 2014. "Pacific Island Rugby: Histories, Mobilities, Comparisons." *Asia Pacific Journal of Sport and Social Science* 3(3): 268–276.
Besnier, Niko. 2015. "Sports Mobilities Across Borders: Postcolonial Perspectives." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 32(7): 849–861.
Besnier, Niko, Susan Brownell, and Thomas F. Carter. 2017. *The Anthropology of Sport: Bodies, Borders, Biopolitics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Besnier, Niko, Daniel Guinness, Mark Hann, and Uroš Kovač. 2018. "Rethinking Masculinity in the Neoliberal Order: Cameroonian Footballers, Fijian Rugby Players, and Senegalese Wrestlers." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 60 (4): 839–872.
Bourdieu, Pierre. 1998. *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Bourdieu, Pierre. 1978. "Sport and Social Class." *Social Sciences Information*. 17(6): 819–840.
Butler, Judith. 2005. *Giving an Account of Oneself*. New York: Fordham University Press.
Carter, Thomas F. 2012. "God Does Not Play Dice with the Universe, or Does He?" *Religion and* Society 3(1): 142–162.
Carter, Thomas F. 2011. *In Foreign Fields: The Politics and Experiences of Transnational Sport Migration*. London: Pluto Press.
Casanova, José. 2011. "Secularization, Enlightenment and Modern Religion." In *Public religions in the modern world*, 11–39. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Connell, Raewyn. *Masculinities*. 2005. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Connell, Raewyn. 2010. "Lives of the Businessmen. Reflections on Life-History Method and Contemporary Hegemonic Masculinity." *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 35(2): 54–71.
Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1241–1299.
Damo, Arlei Sander. 2014. "Training Soccer Players in Brazil." *Soccer & Society* 15(1): 93–107.
Davis, Mike. 2004. "Planet of Slums." *New Left Review* 26: 5–34.
Darby, Paul. 2013. "Moving players, traversing perspectives: Global value chains, production networks and Ghanaian football labour migration." *Geoforum* 50: 43–53.
Dunning, Eric. G. 2008 [1986]. Sport as a Male Preserve: Notes on the Social Sources of Masculine Identity and Its Transformations. *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*, edited by Norbert Elias and Eric G. Dunning, 242–259. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.
Durkheim, Émile. 1995. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: The Free Press.
Engh, Mari Haugaa. 2018. "'Because I know God answers prayers': The Role of Religion in African-Scandinavian Labour Migration." *Alternation Journal* 22: 57–80.
Engh, Mari Haugaa, Federico Settler, and Sine Agergaard. 2017. "'The ball and the rhythm in her blood': Racialised imaginaries and football migration from Nigeria to Scandinavia." *Ethnicities* 17(1): 66–84.
Esson, James. 2015a. "Escape to Victory: Development, Youth Entrepreneurship and the Migration of Ghanaian Footballers." *Geoforum* 64: 47–55.
Esson, James. 2015b. "You have to try your luck: male Ghanaian youth and the uncertainty of football migration." *Environment and Planning A* 47(6): 1383–1397.

Fuentes, Sebastian, and Daniel Guinness. 2019. "'Good Players' or 'Good People': Masculinities, Mobilities, and Class in Argentinian Rugby." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 24(2): 443–460.

Geertz, Clifford. 1968. *Islam observed: Religious development in Morocco and Indonesia*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Geertz, Clifford. 2000 [1973]. "Religion as a Cultural System." *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected E*ssays, 87–125. New York: Basic Books.

Geertz, Clifford. 2005. "Shifting Aims, Moving Targets: On the Anthropology of Religion." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11(1): 1–15.

Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkerley: University of California Press.

Guinness, Daniel. 2018. "Corporal Destinies: Faith, Ethno-nationalism, and Raw Talent in Fijian Professional Rugby Aspirations." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 8 (1–2): 314–328.

Guinness, Daniel. 2014. "Being Fijian in the Global System of Professional Rugby Union: Articulating Multiple Values Through Mobile Bodies." PhD diss., University of Oxford.

Hann, Mark. 2018, "Sporting aspirations: Football, Wrestling, and Neoliberal Subjectivity in Urban Senegal." PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.

Hannerz, Ulf. 2003. "Being There . . . and There . . . and There! Reflections on Multi-Site Ethnography." *Ethnography* 4(2): 201–216.

Hearn, Jeff. 2015. *Men of the World: Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times*. London: Sage.

Kanemasu, Yoko, and Gyozo Molnar. 2013. "Collective Identity and Contested Allegiance: A Case of Migrant Professional Fijian Rugby Players." *Sport in society* 16(7): 863–882.

Kanemasu, Yoko, and Gyozo Molnar. 2015. "Double-trouble: Negotiating gender and sexuality in post-colonial women's rugby in Fiji." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 52 (4): 430–446.

Klein, Alan. 1991. *Sugarball: The American Game, the Dominican Dream*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kovač, Uroš. 2018. "The Precarity of Masculinity: Football, Pentecostalism, and Transnational Aspirations in Cameroon." PhD diss., University of Amsterdam.

Lewis, Hannah, Peter Dwyer, Stuart Hodkinson, and Louise Waite. 2015. "Hyper-precarious lives: Migrants, Work and Forced Labour in the Global North." *Progress in Human Geography* 39(5): 580–600.

Maguire, Joe. 1986. "Images of manliness and competing ways of living in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 3(3): 265–287.

McIntyre, Michael, and Heidi J. Nast. 2011. "Bio(necro)polis: Marx, Surplus Populations, and the Spatial Dialectics of Reproduction and 'Race.'" *Antipode* 43(5): 1465–1488.

Mahmood, Saba. 2005. *Politics of piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mahmood, Saba. 2001. "Rehearsed Spontaneity and the Conventionality of Ritual: Disciplines of Şalat." *American Ethnologist* 28(4): 827–853.

Marcus, George E. 1995. "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24(1): 95–117.

Mauss, Marcel. 1990 [1950]. *The gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. London: Routledge.

Meyer, Birgit. 2008. "Religious Sensations: Why Media, Aesthetics, and Power Matter in the Study of Contemporary Religion." *Religion: Beyond a Concept. Edited by Hent de Vries*, 704–723. New York: Fordham University Press.

Messner, Michael. 1992. *Power at Play: Sports and the Problem of Masculinity*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Mittermaier, Amira. 2012. "Dreams from Elsewhere: Muslim Subjectivities Beyond the Trope of Self-cultivation." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18(2): 247–265.

Molnar, Gyozo, Sara N. Amin, and Yoko Kanemasu, eds. 2019. *Women, Sport and Exercise in the Asia-Pacific Region: Domination, Resistance, Accommodation*. London: Routledge.

Rial, Carmen. 2012. "Banal Religiosity: Brazilian Athletes as New Missionaries of the Neo-Pentecostal Diaspora." *VIBRANT – Virtual Brazilian Anthropology* 9(2): 128–159.

Rial, Carmen. 2008. "Rodar: A Circulação Dos Jogadores de Futebol Brasileiros No Exterior". *Horizontes Antropológicos* 14(30): 21–65.

Roderick, Martin. 2006. "A very precarious profession: Uncertainty in the working lives of professional footballers." *Work, Employment and Society* 20(2): 245–265.

Poli, Raffaele, Loïc Ravenel, and Roger Besson. 2019. "Exporting Countries in World Football." *CIES Football Observatory Monthly Report. Issue 45* (May) http://www.football-observatory.com/IMG/sites/mr/mr45/en/

Scott, David, and Charles Hirschkind, eds. 2006. *Powers of the Secular Modern: Talal Asad and his Interlocutors*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Scott, Joan W. 2009. "Sexularism" *Ursula Hirschmann Annual Lecture on Gender and Europe at the European University Institute*: 1–14. https://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/11553

Shilling, Chris, and Philip A. Mellor. 2014. "Re-conceptualizing sport as a sacred phenomenon." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 31(3): 349–376.

Sheard, Kenneth G., and Eric G. Dunning. 1973. "The Rugby Football Club as a Type of Male Preserve: Some Sociological Notes." *International Review of Sport Sociology* 8(3): 5–24.

Tiesler, Nina Clara. 2016. "Three types of transnational players: differing women's football mobility projects in core and developing countries." *Revista Brasileira de Ciências do Esporte* 38(2): 201–210.

Van der Meij, Nienke, and Paul Darby. 2017. "Getting in the Game and Getting on the Move: Family, the Intergenerational Contract and Internal Migration into Football Academies in Ghana." *Sport in Society* 20(11): 1–16.

Weber, Max. 2009 [1905]. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1958. *Philosophical Investigations*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

III Self-representations of the (In)competent Working Man

Joanna Elfving-Hwang

7 Competency as an Embodied Social Practice: Clothing, Presentation of Self and Corporate Masculinity in South Korea

Abstract: Drawing on in-depth interviews with 15 male participants aged 33 to 55 in the Seoul metropolitan area, this chapter discusses the role grooming and presentation of self in how men both perform competence and attempt to negotiate organizational power in the workplace. Focusing on the social aspects of grooming, clothing and projecting 'ideal' physical presence, this chapter examines the participants' reflections on dress code and performing heterosexual masculinity in the workplace as a site for producing ideal bodies for the homosocial gaze in the workplace. Through framing the presentation of self as a habitus for specific forms of disciplinary practices of the body (Bourdieu 1977), this chapter considers how ideal masculinity in the workplace is produced, maintained and self-policed through internalised ideological and embodied notions of power and competency at work.

Contextualising the White-collar Worker, Appearances and Power

The male white-collar worker is a highly visible and recognisable character in the urban South Korean (hereafter, Korea) landscape. As many educated urban men have at least at some of point of their lives worked in a corporate context, the image of the white-collar worker is also a well-established trope in popular culture. Cinematic and television representations of corporate workers in the highly competitive, neoliberal and increasingly precarious workplace depict corporate warriors who continuously battle not only the competitors of their companies, but also to advance their careers. In fact, while in the past, graduates from top universities such as Seoul National University, Yonsei University or Korea University could expect to have their career paths laid out until retirement, changes in global and local economic labour structures have meant that for most, maintaining an upward career trajectory requires constant work.

One of the most marked shifts that have taken place in the Korean corporate sector in recent years was the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997. The crisis hit

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-008

the Korean economy hard, and as the government was required to accept the International Monetary Fund's emergency loan package to bail out the failing economy, companies underwent major performance management restructuring processes, which in many cases involved massive layoffs (Song 2009). The large-scale government-led structural liberalisation of the previously protective labour laws also led to a significant casualisation of the Korean workplace from the early 2000s onwards (Kim and Kim 2003, 351–352; Song 2009, 96). As the corporate workplace has become a highly precarious one with no guarantees of long-term career success, many plan to work all-out until laid off rather than expecting to hold down the same jobs until retirement. Unsurprisingly, against the cut-throat corporate working environment in Korea, the male corporate workers (*jigwŏn*) have also become what Erynn Masi de Casanova calls "a recognisable cultural type" (2015, 1), whose travails were recently depicted in hugely popular Korean TV series such as *Misaeng* (*Incomplete life 2*014), *History of the Salaryman* (2012) and *Ms Temper and Nam Junki* (2016) which all parody the lengths to which men are willing to go to secure their careers. In particular, the image of a middle-aged corporate worker struggling to hold onto his failing career is a popular trope. Maintaining a professional appearance is shown in these televisual narratives as one such "strategy to make visible one's willingness to appear as a disciplined body that is of value to the organisation" (Elfving-Hwang 2017, 63). Yet, as Casanova observes in the context of discussing the American white-collar worker, "we know more about fictional businessmen than we do about flesh-and-blood men making their living in the US corporate world today" (2). The same can be said about the Korean corporate male worker: while many fictional representations that resonate with general viewing audiences exist, there are in fact no qualitative studies focusing on how middle-aged men utilise appearances to enhance their careers.

Contemporary ideas of an "ideal corporate worker" have their foundations in the rapidly developing Korean economy of the second half of the twentieth century. From the 1960s until the 1980s, the (predominantly male) Korean corporate worker, the salaryman, was depicted in the national imaginary as a corporate warrior whose nationalistic duty was to ensure the national survival against North Korean communist threat by selflessly and unquestioningly working long hours to build the gross national product (Han and Ling 1998, 65). The salaryman came to embody the social transformation that came with the process of industrialisation, while simultaneously conforming to the idea of militarised and nationalistic *Korean* masculinity as a warrior who was seen to fight for the national economic survival (Moon 1997, 42). Taking the fashion and aesthetic clues both from the Japanese *sarariiman* imaginary (Dasgupta 2013, 4) and global corporate aesthetics more generally, men's work fashion aimed to present

an image of financial success and transnational sophistication. By the 1980s, as the consumer base of men who were willing to invest in expensive suits grew with the growing wealth of the nation, early men's fashion magazines such as *Jikjang-in* (Corporate Worker, 1983–1994) and *Wŏlgan mŏt* (Monthly Fashion, 1984–1993) were the first dedicated entirely to educating their readership on how to present an image of success signified through correct corporate clothing and office decorum. Images of successful salarymen would typically feature a man in a suit, with a stern gaze fixed at the viewer. Moreover, what is significant about these representations is that while contemporaneous women's fashion images catered for the male gaze and presented women in demure poses, images of men in suits also assumed the presence of a homosocial male gaze. In other words, the focus was with how men in the advertisements appeared to other men, and how career success could be communicated through visual means. Men in advertising did not simply passively *appear*, but were presented as a somatic representation of the ideal qualities of a successful salaryman: an industrious hardworking man who had earned the respect of others.

By early 1990s, however, representations of idealised images of powerful salarymen gave way to training the readers to assume a fashion-conscious male consumer gaze. The 1990s successful man was one who not only displayed signs of success in the workplace, but also during his free time through engaging in interesting hobbies (such as scuba diving, skiing and overseas holidays) and personal fitness and grooming. He was presented as one who was continuously willing to engage with global and personal fashions to appear sophisticated to other men in a way that "transforms personality and feeling into a performance that overspills the boundaries of the workplace" (Casanova 2015, 26). In Korea, class, social status and even personality traits have long before the arrival of modernity been linked with well-groomed appearances and attire, and as a point of adhering to proper social decorum (Elfving-Hwang 2013). However, in the post 1997 Asian Financial Crisis (known colloquially in Korea as the "IMF-crisis" as the country was forced to seek loans from the International Monetary Fund to keep its failing economy afloat), defining oneself as a brand has become an increasingly important strategy for career enhancement (Yu and Im 2015). The bodies of the white-collar workers in Korea have become – similarly to what Casanova observes to be the case in the US context – objects of neoliberal gaze and bodily labour expressed through fashion, trim bodies and grooming help to define the workers both as their own "brand" and notion of competency that one "sells" to superiors in the workplace. Ideas of competent masculinity in the workplace are produced as a form of habitus, and what Williams refers to as "objective conditions of existence" that consist of embodied practices that serve as the basis of schemes of perception and

appreciation or "taste" (Williams 1995, 590) in given contexts. These ideas are then in turn self-policed through internalised ideological and embodied notions of power and competency at work, and performed primarily for the homosocial gaze of other men to ensure career success.

Talking to Men about Grooming and Apparel

The findings of this chapter are based on interview data collected in Seoul from September to December 2017 with 15 male participants aged 33 to 55 in the Seoul metropolitan area, who were asked to reflect on their views on the role of grooming and the presentation of self in the workplace. Most of the respondents were in their 40s, and this age group was chosen deliberately because they represent the so-called *sinsaedae* (new generation). In the early 1990s, this cohort experienced rapid upward social mobility achieved through expanding participation in higher education which came with a promise of secure employment-for-life prospects for the best University graduates. However, this generation was also soon hit with the structural labour market changes of the 1997 Asian financial crisis, and the labour market precariousness that followed. As a result, unlike the salarymen of the 1980s who could have expected to secure lifetime employment with the same company that employed them as graduates, many of the participants who took part in this study had worked in a number of companies before eventually being laid off in their 40s and subsequently becoming self-employed.

Recruitment of respondents was challenging as many men were reluctant to take part in the study that for many seemed too personal or even "effeminate" to talk about. Most of the participants were therefore recruited through a personal introduction via a Korean research assistant's extended networks, and in some cases men whom I interviewed introduced their friends, who then agreed to take part in to the study. The topics explored during the semi-structured interviews ranged from the participants being asked to describe their own grooming and fashion preferences and practices, any masculine body ideals they might have, and the role they felt that grooming, fashion and appearances more generally play in the workplace as a tool for career enhancement. Bourdieu has argued that most social subjects are rarely consciously aware of the social rules that they are expected to conform to, even if these rules require considerable investment and effort on the daily basis of their lives (Bourdieu 1990, 61). He further goes on to note that "each agent, wittingly or unwittingly, willy nilly, is a producer and reproducer of objective meaning [. . .] because subjects do not, strictly speaking,

know what they are doing that what they do has more meaning than they know" (Bourdieu 1977, 79). The participants in this study are therefore not taken as "infallible" informants in explaining why they engage in various kinds of body work. Rather, the focus here is on understanding how these presumably mundane practices are imbued with social and symbolic meanings in ways that illustrate structures of power at work and how those structures impact individual men's grooming and fashion choices in the Korean corporate world. Unsurprisingly then, many participants were initially surprised that I even wished to talk about the topic of appearances in the context of work, noting they had typically associated concerns with appearance as a "women's issue", and had never really given thought to the fact that they themselves were also actively engaged in embodying social signifiers through their choice of apparel and grooming. As the interviews progressed, many began by noting that grooming and investing in one's appearances in ways that were deemed suitable to their workplace contexts were just part of general social etiquette in Korea. However, all invariably also pointed to what they saw as very real links between well-presented business masculinities and competency at workplace, as well as for whom the aesthetic labour was performed; namely, other men.

Embodying Competence: Hair, Facial Hair, Skin and Body Weight

Competency in the workplace is typically considered a prerequisite for career success (Chismir and Koberg 1989). Existing work on bodies and their symbolic value in the workplace has established that presentation of self plays an important part in evaluating competence at work, particularly in gendered contexts. The need for women to "power dress" in the workplace in order to progress in their careers has been well established (Rucker, Anderson and Kangas 1999). Some existing studies have also focused on how other men perceive an individual with the view of understanding how perceptions of workplace competence relate to attire (Frith and Gleeson 2004; Pratt 1993), and self-presentation theory; that is, how individuals *feel* when wearing formal or casual attire to work (Karl, Hall and Peluchette 2013). Michele Rene Gregory's work on corporate masculinities in the United Kingdom has illustrated how competence and leadership qualities are measured in terms of homogeneity (fitting in), homosociability (informal networks) and heterosexuality in ways that continue to privilege men at work (2016). Gregory's work illustrates the importance of understanding what symbolic meanings are attached to men's bodies at work, and how men use their appearances to enhance

their career paths. She asserts that "men can use their bodies to 'set the ideal culture' and gain power and domination over others through talking and playing sports with clients and colleagues, sexually propositioning female colleagues and engaging in excessive drinking" (2016, 9). However, less attention has been paid to how homosocial "ideal cultures" impact the way in which men are required to perform aesthetic labour for career advancement, and whether men find this as empowering as existing literature might suggest.

None of the participants in this study doubted the logic behind the perceived need to invest in self to make the most of one's career. While all the participants in this study agreed that presenting a competent appearance in the workplace was important to securing career success, the external signifiers of competency could not simply reduced to wearing an expensive suit or resorting to skin care treatments. In business, my participants explained, appearances mattered because first impressions were seen as directly linked to business outcomes. First impressions were not simply seen as a way to impress, but an opportunity to form a positive impression of good and reliable character. In other words, external appearances were seen as a legitimate reason to decide whether one wishes to do business with someone or not. A 52-year-old owner and manager of a small design company noted that "looking sharp" was essential to project "an aura" of competency and reliability to clients: "If I look pleasant and have a friendly countenance then the opposite side is more likely to want to do business with me. If I look rough, the other person might not trust me with their business. It is like this thing where you just look at their face and decide whether you can have faith in them". All of the participants agreed that there is an undisputed connection between competence and well-combed appearance. As a result, engaging in various grooming practices was seen less of a choice and more a necessity. Conversely, when they encountered colleagues or clients who did not look after their appearances, this was immediately interpreted as a sign of something being amiss. Asked how he would react in work contexts to someone who appeared untidy, the 47-year-old owner of a real estate agency expressed immediate suspicion about a client's potential social status:

> Oh, I think if there was someone like that I'd think one of two things: 'Has that person some kind of hidden weapon other than their appearances?' or 'Have they got *any* money?' Because I am in the business of buying and selling buildings I work with people who have a *lot* of money. People who are really rich don't care about their appearances. Instead, they wear a nice watch, quality neat clothes, ride a nice car, but they really don't seem to care about their appearances in other ways.

This participant's views were in line with the perceptions of others who noted that people who really spend money on their appearances are actually the ones who are much lower down on the social ladder than those who can actually afford treatments. In other words, there was a recognition of how social class impacted aesthetic practices, and how investing in appearances could also be interpreted as an act of desperation by those who have no choice but to invest in self as an additional sign of competency in the workplace.

When asked to describe an ideal middle aged male work colleague, the descriptions were all very similar: someone tall, with broad shoulders but not overweight, fit and muscular, a head of full hair with no grey or white hair, no facial hair and a good skin that is not too wrinkly or tanned. When asked how these different body parts were linked to ideas of ideal corporate masculinity, each of these aspects was seen to link with perceptions of competence in different ways.

Hair

All of the participants expressed anxiety over their hair, as thinning hair was seen as a sign of being stressed or worn out, as well as just unpleasant or "messy" to look at by others. A 53-year-old owner and manager of a small design company was confident that at least eight out of ten middle aged Korean men dyed their hair because they worried about looking old and the impact this might have on their career prospects:

> When you're doing business, your hair is important. If you have a lot of hair then that reflects really well on your appearance [. . .]. For Koreans, if you don't have much hair, your confidence levels plummet. Some people use wigs but that's not ideal because if they slip then that is highly embarrassing. Some use black scalp powder to cover bald spots, but that too can run if it's a hot day. So ideally people will want to get hair transplants and invest in quality hair products, but that is all very expensive.

Receding hairline or greying hair was also seen as a sign of premature ageing. When asked whether they thought that men felt the need to dye their hair to appear younger to avoid being laid off (as some media reporting in the West has previously claimed),[1] none of the participants felt this was an accurate description of the role of aesthetic labour in their lives. Interviewee 10, who was

1 See for example John Scanlon, "The Price of Beauty in South Korea," *BBC*, February 3, 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/4229995.stm, accessed June 6, 2019.

in real estate business, noted that since most Korean middle-aged men are self-employed, looking younger was good for business because it helps young people to relate to those who are older than them. For him, losing hair was akin to becoming a "young grandad", and he feared that this would alienate younger customers. This view, while not backed by any kind of real scientific evidence, is peddled by popular self-help literature, by style experts and even cosmetic surgeons in Korea. None of the participants doubted it either. A fashionable 48-year-old employee who works for an IT company agreed that the fear of thinning and greying hair was one of the most significant sources of stress for middle-aged men, rather than how to style it: "Personally I like long, but having long hair is so much work that I decided to have my hair permed. I have many friends who are worrying about their thinning hair, but they're not that concerned about the style of their hair". This participant was the only one who expressed a preference for a hairstyle other than a short and neat cut, which for most was seen as the appropriate style for anyone over 30 and working in business contexts. A receding hairline was also considered to make a person look shifty or unreliable, and therefore unlikely to succeed in a company:

> Tidy and neat appearance is desirable. Compared to messy hair and dishevelled appearance you must have tidy appearance, because everyone in the company is working together, and your superiors work there too. [. . .] A person who looks after their appearance gives out an impression that they are also good workers. It's a sign of being a detailed and hardworking person. (car salesman, 43 years old)

Unsurprisingly then, all of the men were sympathetic to efforts to hide a receding hairline: even a comb-over or use of black scalp powder (despite its tendency to run in hot weather) to cover bald patches were seen as preferable to going bald. Moreover, a 48-year-old man who works in a small company in a mid-management role believed that because grooming was seen as directly related to competence and diligence, loss of hair evidenced exhaustion and impending burn-out. He believed that such distinct lack of aesthetic labour was evidence of not only individual laziness but also lack of commitment to the company that the person worked at. Consequently, all of the participants agreed that investing in hair transplants was wise because it not only made the person in question look younger, but because a balding head was seen to cause social unease in other and thus an impediment to career progress.

Body Weight and Height

Closely linked to the concern for a receding hairline was the fear of putting on weight, which was again linked to lack of competence and self-control. A 38-year -old marketing manager noted that in a corporate work context, fighting excess weight was a constant struggle for middle aged men: "If you put on weight, it basically sends a strong message to others that you're lazy. This is extremely bad in company contexts because if you can't look after your own body, then how are you supposed to look after company business?" However, he also conceded that maintaining a fit body and muscle tone was near impossible for most men because they worked long days sitting still in front of a computer without the opportunity to do exercise. Regardless of this, he did not disagree with the general perception that linked weight gain with laziness and went on to explain: "Even so . . . [*pauses to think*] these days managers in all big and small companies try to exercise so that they won't put on weight, which makes their underlings follow suit. That is because if you're giving presentations in front of others you need to look smart and fit, rather than overweight". This evidences a clear class distinction with regards to access to fitness training which most men were at least vaguely aware of.

A 36-year-old IT worker offered a further explanation to illustrate this. He agreed that there was a general accepted assumption among Koreans that being overweight was a sign of laziness as in his view successful people tended to look good, trim and muscular. However, for him being fit did not necessarily precede success, but it was rather the other way round: he felt that success brought with it the financial means to achieve a fit body. In other words, he felt that rich people become attractive because they have the available income to invest in themselves. The way in which weight is seen as a class issue signifying either wealth or lack of it is not unique to Korea, and a number of studies in the US and Europe have also illustrated how thinness is associated with moral virtue and middle class status (Saguy and Gruys 2010; Saguy and Riley 2005; Kwan 2008).

What is notable in the narratives of the participants in this study was how almost all of them accepted the inherent social inequality embedded in the notion of trim bodies. Many commented that maintaining a slim and muscular body was something that only the wealthy had access to. The bodily capital that is linked to fit bodies comes with a "degree of moral and health authority" (Hutson 2013, 64), because it evidences middle class status and wealth. It was striking how none of the participants felt able to challenge this logic that linked fitness to middle class status. Many confessed to being unable to exercise for fitness because of their busy life schedules, or – as the 47-year-old owner of a

real estate agency mused – because he doubted his wife would allow him to "waste money" on such things. In fact, investing in the body was seen as legitimate cause of action only if one had the actual social status commensurate to what it was seen to signify. For example, if one was in the process of starting a new business and was seen to need to invest in appearances in this way to project a more "managerial aura" to others. The way in which leadership positions were seen to come with the expectation of projecting success through investing in time to exercise and gain a fit body illustrates that even exercise was seen as aesthetic labour performed to project middle class status rather than something one engages in for the sake of one's health. Only one of the participants, a 35-year-old marketing manager, noted that such opportunity could also turn out to be enjoyable for the person concerned, rather than a duty to fulfil for the sake of appearances:

> People are more likely to listen to someone who is fit and attractive because such people come across as appearing reliable. But looking after my body is something that I think is also actually something I can achieve too. Wearing a nice suit over a fit body is something that would give me enjoyment and makes me happy about myself.

Linked to the idea of somatic capital signified by fit bodies was a stated preference for tall bodies. One third of the participants noted that to be successful in the Korean workplace, being tall was a distinct advantage. The above-mentioned 35-year-old marketing manager felt that being tall was helpful in business contexts because people have a tendency to perceive short men as weak: "If you're small, people think you're weak compared to the taller guys. Even when looking for employment, tall men are at an advantage". While he was not sure whether there was an actual verifiable connection between competence and being tall, he felt that this notion had to be based on some scientific "truth" despite being unfair on short men. A 55-year-old former company worker, who had recently been laid off and was in the process of setting up his own business, was also very aware of the perceived competence of tall men. He mused that the reason why Korean men of his generation were so highly conscious of their height was because if a man was tall and well dressed, there often was an inherent assumption that he was also competent at his job. In his own case he felt that this was something that he had unconsciously learnt when younger, and when Korea was not quite as affluent as it is now:

> When I was young, Westerners always looked so tall, right? For some reason when we were young, they were so wealthy, and we were so very poor. Because we were so poor, we felt so envious . . . If only I could be that tall, or if only I could look smart like that. I watched a lot of foreign films when I was young. [. . .] all of our idols were Westerners. And they looked so smart, and wealthy. But now we have many Korean idols [so it's no longer the case].

While this participant did not feel that this equated to any kind of racial envy but rather to a desire for attaining what "the Hollywood America" represented to him in his youth, there has been a long-standing pseudo-scientific belief circulating in Korea that tall men tend to be more competent and therefore successful. This idea has been circulated in popular media, in self-help books and even in the 1960s and 1970s by former President Park Chunghee, who believed that the strength of the nation was in the hands of the next generation of men who were to be taller and stronger than the current generation, and who himself harboured deep-seated insecurities for being short (Moon 2009).

Skin and Facial Hair

Tellingly, while most of the participants felt that they did not engage in any grooming worth mentioning, they were all in fact very concerned about the appearance of their skin. In particular, ensuring that their face (along with hairstyle) projected a neat appearance to others was considered as basic social etiquette. All used various lotions and toners, and two of the participants confessed being extremely stressed over having to constantly shave to keep their facial hair from showing. The focus on maintaining a neat exterior became more pronounced with participants over 40 years old, as many faced either being laid off work or had recently left corporate positions to start businesses of their own. In fact, presenting a neat appearance was seen as not only an important social lubricant particularly for those in people-facing positions, but also for men who worked for companies that insisted on a façade of energetic (youthful) competency for all workers.

Many of the participants were very interested in learning more about proper skin care, and had even done market research, watched YouTube videos or cable TV programs on how to rid their skin of age-related blemishes. However, only three participants told me that they had sought professional help at a beauty salon. Others cited the prohibitive cost of treatment as a barrier of not doing so, rather than worrying that facial treatments might be considered by other men as "effeminising" in any way. All felt that visiting a dermatologist or a beauty salon for skin treatment when over 40 years old was not particularly effeminate or socially objectionable because the ultimate aim was to prolong their careers.

A 41-year-old participant, who works in a car company, was very aware of the environmental threats that both pollution and sun exposure posed to the skin:

> These days the environment is really harsh on your skin, and the sun can also damage your skin, so people use sun cream because they worry about the adverse effects of sun rays. For that reason there are many men who use things like BB Cream [a "blemish balm" designed to protect the skin from harmful sunrays and to give light foundation to hide skin blemishes]. [. . .] Especially those in the job market get facials and ensure that [excess facial] hair is taken care of, and unlike in the past when it was only women, men now frequent 'skin shops' (skin care clinics) for facial massage [to improve skin tone], and really pay a lot of attention to their appearance.

The aesthetic labour to ensure that one maintains a youthful, not-too-tanned and youthful skin tone was very much considered as a sign of a hardworking person by all of the participants. Some of the older participants noted that while in the 1990s a slightly tanned skin had been a sign of a "manly" man, the trend was now to present a white skin because it was seen as "tidy" and more youthful – unlike a tanned skin, which was considered as damaged through sun exposure and lack of care. This scientific logic relating to care of self was therefore in line with the idea that protecting the body from exposure and premature ageing was also viewed as an important form of aesthetic labour for men in order to project vitality. Similarly to receding hairline or greying hair, ageing skin has come to be associated with decreased stamina to work long days rather than a sign of experience and seniority that such features were traditionally seen to signify.

Linked to the maintenance of a youthful and healthy-looking facial skin tone was another aspect of grooming that was seen as essential to projecting competence: a clear-shaven chin. None of the participants felt that facial hair was an appropriate look for Korean men because it was felt that a beard or a moustache would look "messy". While some of the participants simply noted that they shaved on a daily basis, three expressed significant stress over what they described as "battle with facial hair" in order to appear neat in the workplace. A 36-year-old IT worker asserted that:

> Men are really bothered about their facial hair. They shave twice, sometimes three times a day. Almost everyone shaves at least twice a day because they're concerned about looking messy. In the morning you wet shave, Gillette-style [laughs]. But in the afternoon after lunch the stubble grows back. It's quite a bother.

Despite the considerable labour that remaining clean-shaven required, it was telling that while some of the men made references to women's cosmetic practices as "cumbersome but necessary for workplace", they were in fact unaware of how much their own appearance-related beliefs determined their own everyday aesthetic labour. They also tended to underestimate the actual time and effort

invested in it. However, rather than experiencing body work such as shaving as constraining, the material and symbolic benefits were seen to outweigh the effort invested to the extent that body work was just considered part of the business of working with other men.

The Politics of Image Management: Competent, but Likeable

Another important aspect of understanding masculine work cultures is how bodies are gendered at work through informal, homosocial work practices and networks. As noted above, while much of the literature discussing competence in the workplace in the West has focused on image management to present the self as a "brand", all participants in this study discussed an additional social dimension to care for the self that they considered equally important; namely, how aesthetic choices were seen to enhance social harmony and social hierarchies in the workplace. Janelli and Yim have previously identified how social harmony and the ability to get along ("or appear to get along") with colleagues in the workplace are considered as central to securing ongoing work and promotion opportunities in Korean corporate contexts (2002). They note that while the corporate work environment is particularly challenging for women, men were under stress in different ways as they "were locked in a long-term contest for advancement", where "a male worker's chief competitors were his male coworkers" (Janelli and Im 2002, 123). Such politics of image management were also evident in the narratives of participants in this study, and specifically in ways that emphasised an appearance of competence that is closely linked with considerations of "political labour".

Political labour in the workplace involves employing the right cultural and social attributes to fit in and to construct a reliable, efficient and likable image of themselves to their superiors (Martin 1987). Gregory observes that homogeneity and homosociability in the workplace provide men with an advantage over women not only through men-only networks, but also through aesthetic labour that presents competency in the workplace through 'power dressing' (Gregory 2016). Similarly, the participants of this study felt that clothing and grooming choices had material bearing on their career prospects. Their clothing choices and grooming was first and foremost performed for the gaze of other men rather than for women, and for those in management positions in particular, and what their presumed image of a competent subordinate would look like. The 53-year-old director of a small educational institution was keen to emphasise

the link between hierarchical military cultures and appearances, and how performing for the gaze of other men was learnt in the compulsory military service in Korea: "You need to look competent to your superiors and in that way you'll get to keep your job and get a chance of promotion. [Company culture] is like military culture: you have to look good to your superiors". Other participants expressed similar views, emphasising that similarly to how 'subcultural capital' or how to appear to other men was learnt in the army was replicated in the workplace. By carefully observing and learning the expected codes of dress in a specific company context, individual men could learn to project competence through dress, hairstyles and grooming, and even the kinds of hobbies they are engaged in. However, all this aesthetic labour at work was also much less about self-satisfaction, and more about performing masculine competence and reliability for the homosocial gaze.

However, appearances in the context of Korean work cultures are informed by broader cultural notions of masculine characteristics linked to projecting competence for career advancement, but also on how cultural meanings attached to the body groomed for work contexts plays a role in maintaining harmonious and homosocial work environments. Accordingly, the participants were also careful to highlight that aesthetic choices in the workplace had to be carefully made so as to not to appear *too* good-looking or out of place either. The 52-year-old manager of a small design company had a very clear idea of what a good male employee would be like: "You want someone who dresses *neatly* [emphasises]. Rather than having a handsome face, you want someone who looks like they won't hold a grudge against others, someone who looks competent and able to read social situations well, and someone who maintains good relations with others. That kind of person is the best". In fact, only two of the interviewees talked about grooming in order to appear desirable to women, while for others the emphasis was on the importance of maintaining "manly but friendly" appearances for other men.

The concept of "manly appearance" was used very much in conjunction with the concept of social power (*kwŏllyŏk)*, and there was a strong underlying anxiety among this group about not presenting an appearance that was powerful and confident to others. A powerful appearance was linked to small signifiers that one could detect immediately by just looking at a person and how they choose to display aspects of somatic or cultural capital: good skin, tall, neat quality clothing and full, nicely cut black hair, good body, and a nice car. Entwistle notes that "knowing what counts as quality and recognising it in the dress of others requires knowledge in the form of 'cultural capital'" (2000, 50). Similarly, the participants in this study were very aware that even smallest bodily orientations or clothing choices would be interpreted as either lack of

cultural capital drawn from knowledge of what counts as quality clothing or fashion, as well as knowledge of skin care. Lack of cultural capital was seen as devastating to one's career prospects because it was seen as giving other people the social licence to ignore or even exploit those who were not able to reproduce bodily dispositions that would project middle class social status and wealth (Entwistle 2000, 50). Many of the participants felt that this was connected to the way in which social relations in Korean society where hierarchically structured, so that those who could not project middle class status and values through clothing, appearance, body postures or even ways of talking would always be overlooked when it came to career progression. A 50-year-old man working in a company selling car parts explained that Korean society is one where "people become weak in front of those who are strong, and strong when others cower to them". For this reason, he argued, projecting power, class and wealth through bodily dispositions was essential for any kind of social situation outside one's own family:

> Even in my company I see it. If you have a person waiting for service wearing a suit, and another one wearing overalls, then the one in overalls will be told to wait [while the one in suit is being served first]. Korean society has that kind of way of judging people by their appearances. I don't really agree with this but it really is very obvious anywhere you go. So, if you want to get served, you have to put on some branded clothing, and ladies will want to carry a nice bag. People with no social standing are ignored, so wearing nice clothing, having a nice bag, driving a nice car, looking good and neat is how you get by.

When I pointed out to the participants that the idea of presenting a powerful and confident appearance seemed in conflict with also wanting to fit into a company culture in a harmonious way, the participants agreed that this tension could become a significant source of stress.

A 47-year-old aspiring author working for a publishing company noted that Koreans had a strong need to belong to an in-group and with that they also feel the need to comment on what others are wearing. He recalled how his superiors would often tell him off for having too lax an attitude toward what he was wearing. This was because his apparel was not seen as giving a good image of the company, which was also seen to be disrespectful of others. His narrative demonstrates that not adhering to particular dress or grooming styles can also be coded as rebellious by those in management roles (Entwistle 2000). Similarly, a 48-year-old IT manager pointed out that even when these days many corporate cultures had become much more relaxed in terms of not insisting on men wearing suits, he was still careful to gauge the social situation around him and adjust his clothing accordingly: "If I wear something that I see is making others feel uncomfortable, then I think I should really be wearing something else".

The link between showing respect to others and making an effort to fit in in terms of body work and clothing was a social feature of the Korean workplace that all of the participants were well aware of and highly reluctant to go against because of the potential repercussion that such choices might have. In their article on beauty work among Korean men, Jang and Kim note that men's beauty work has now become so mainstream that the results of it (or the visible lack of effort) are taken to reflect the individual's effort and sincerity (2014).

Similarly, the participants in this study felt that embodying competency through presenting a neat and well-groomed body – albeit not overly so – was simply seen as a part of work culture that could not be challenged. For example, the 52-year-old owner of an educational institute was surprised that I even asked such a question when for him the connection between neat appearance and competency was a fact, and not simply a question of perception:

> Interviewer: So, in what context is the clean and orderly appearance important?
>
> Interviewee 2: If your superior sees you and thinks "Ah that guy is always such a mess, he should really pull up his trousers a bit and button up his jacket properly," a person like that will obviously be prejudiced against. While I'm not expert in this [image management], first impressions work like that. You just look at someone and make up your mind, thinking, "Ah, that person is not so good."

Related to that, an ungroomed appearance was also linked to concern about a person's mental or physical health, and many feared that this could have negative impact on their careers. Consequently, while negative comments on one's appearance by other men were sometimes seen as hurtful, they could also be perceived as evidence of care and affection (*chŏng*). Some of the participants felt that as a result of giving advice to others on what to wear and not to wear (even if such advice was not sought) was a sign of true friendship because it helped them to avoid socially embarrassing situations and to succeed in the workplace.

Concluding Thoughts

While sociologists such as Joanne Entwistle have established that "class has material bearing on clothing choices" (2000, 50), I have argued in this chapter that clothing and grooming choices are also considered as having material bearing for men's careers in Korea. All of the participants felt the need to ensure that they deployed aesthetic choices that were both projecting competence and class, but within the constraints of what was acceptable to other men in their workplace contexts. This, of course, can be in part explained by the collectivist Korean work

cultures, even if there has been a shift toward a more neoliberal and individualistic approach to career success in Korea too. In his discussion of the rise of the Chinese white-collar man (*bailing nanren*), Derek Hird notes that "the now dominant logic of the 'neoliberal' capitalist market promotes the formation of the self-interested, self-reliant 'desiring subject' in an increasingly privatised, consumerised, and hierarchised socioeconomic landscape" (Hird 2016, 137).

While the focus on the self as an object of investment certainly rings true in the context of contemporary Korea too, a closer analysis of men's own reflections of the role that aesthetic labour plays in social relations of the workplace suggests that the role of grooming and fashion cannot be simply limited to neoliberal notions of "branding". Instead, the narratives about appearances reveal a complex picture whereby broader celebrity-driven notions of masculinity are not considered ideal or even desirable to individuals in the workplace. Rather, the drivers behind aesthetic labour and specific choices of what aspects of their bodies the participants choose to invest in were seen as more linked to bodily capital governed within the rules of a specific workplace context that are performed for the homosocial gaze. Within this context, most aesthetic labour was informed by shared cultural values that inform the Korean corporate workplace, such as reliability and loyalty, heterosexual and militarised masculinity, social harmony and, increasingly, youthful vitality.

While men's beauty work has remained by and large an under-researched topic in Korea, and possibly because men's body work is perhaps not as visible as that of women, this chapter has illustrated how men's body work in corporate contexts is a complex sociological process that requires men to perform constant aesthetic labour to maintain in-group harmony and perform respect for hierarchies. Similarly to what Ojala et.al found in their study of the social meanings attached to body work among American and Finnish men, body work is gendered through rendering it as key "men's business" linked to projecting competence that allows men to climb up corporate hierarchies while maintaining smooth social relationships with other men (Ojala et. al. 2016, 359).

However, the limits of such body work as a strategy were also evident because the bodily and symbolic capital attached to many desirable bodily practices or features is never evenly distributed. While body work may be agentic in that men voluntary take part in the practices of grooming in the hope of maintaining successful selves in the workplace to project competitiveness through appearance in order to invest in their career prospects, it was also clear that they were only open to men who had the time and money to do so, or the existing physical stature to begin with. In other words, while all participants agreed that appearances had material effect on their career prospects, the socio-economic

benefits of investing – or not investing – in appearances were also seen to vary depending on the level of managerial seniority and actual wealth. Consequently, while clothing and other somatic technologies of the body may offer an avenue for men to advance their careers, embodying competence and cultural capital through body work is always limited because it is essentially subject to material constraints to start off with.

Acknowledgements: This research has been funded by a grant from the Academy of Korean Studies (Grant number AKS-2017-R-56). I would also like to thank and acknowledge Jihye Hwang for her assistance with many practical aspects of organising the interviews for this research project.

References

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

de Casanova, Erynn Masi. 2015. *Buttoned Up: Clothing, Conformity and White-Collar Masculinity*. Ithaca, NY: ILR/Cornell University Press.

Chusmir, Leonard H., and Christine S. Koberg. 1989. "Perceived Work Competency and Sex Role Conflict: An Empirical Study." *Journal of Psychology* 123(6): 537–546.

Dasgupta, Romit. 2013. *Re-reading the Salaryman in Japan: Crafting Masculinities*. Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Elfving-Hwang, Joanna. 2017. "Aestheticizing Authenticity: Corporate Masculinities in Contemporary South Korean Television Dramas." *Asia Pacific Perspectives* 15(1): 55–72.

Elfving-Hwang, Joanna. 2013. "Cosmetic Surgery and Embodying the Moral Self in South Korean Popular Makeover Culture," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 11(24): 1–11.

Entwistle, Joanne. 2000. *The Fashioned Body*. Cambridge & Malden: Polity Press.

Frith, Hannah, and Gleeson, Kate. 2004. "Clothing and embodiment: Men managing body image and appearance." *Psychology of Men and Masculinity* 5(1): 40–48.

Gregory, Michele Rene. 2016. *The Face of the Firm: Corporate Hegemonic Masculinity at Work*. New York and London: Routledge.

Han, Jongwoo, and Lily HM Ling. 1998. "Authoritarianism in the Hypermasculinized State: Hybridity, Patriarchy and Capitalism in Korea." *International Studies Quarterly* 42(1): 53–78.

Hird, Derek. 2016. "Making Class and Gender: White-collar Men in Postsocialist China." *Changing Chinese Masculinities: from Imperial Pillars of State to Global Real Men*. Ed. Kam Louie, 137–156. Hong Kong: HKU Press.

Hutson, David J. 2013. "'Your Body Is Your Business Card': Bodily Capital and Health Authority in the Fitness Industry." *Social Science & Medicine* 90: 63–71.

Janelli Roger L., and Yim, Dawnhee. 2002. "Gender Construction in the Offices of a South Korean Conglomerate." In *Under Construction: The Gendering of Modernity, Class and*

Consumption in the Republic of Korea, edited by Laurel Kendall, 115–139. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Jang, Mi, and Kim Chu-dŏk. 2014. "A Study on Awareness and Reality of Cosmetic Surgery" [miyong sŏnghyŏng e taehan insik mit silt'ae e kwanhan yŏn'gu, in Korean]. *Han'guk hwajangp'um miyonghakjaji* 4(2): 179–196.

Karl, Katherine A., Leda McIntyre Hall, and Joy V. Peluchette. 2013. "City Employee Perceptions of the Impact of Dress and Appearance: You Are What You Wear." *Public Personnel Management* 42(3): 452–470.

Kim, Dong-One, and Seungsu, Kim. 2003. "Globalization, Financial Crisis, and Industrial Relations: The Case of South Korea." *Industrial Relations* 42(3): 351–352.

Kwan, Samantha. 2008. "Framing the Fat Body: Contested Meanings Between Government, Activists, and Industry." *Sociological inquiry* 79(1): 25–50.

Martin, Brian. 1987. "Merit and Power." *Australian Journal of Social Sciences* 22(2): 436–451.

Moon, Seungsook. 1997. "Begetting the Nation: The Androcentric Discourse of National History and Tradition in South Korea. In *Dangerous Women: Gender & Korean Nationalism*, edited by Elaine H. Kim and Chungmoo Choi, 33–66. New York and London: Routledge.

Moon, Seungsook. 2009. "The Cultural Politics of Remembering Park Chung Hee." *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 19(5)(May): 1–33.

Ojala, Hanna, Toni Calasanti, Neal King, and Ilkka Pietilä. 2016. "Natural(ly) Men: Masculinity and Gendered Anti-ageing Practices in Finland and the USA." *Ageing & Society* 36(2): 356–375.

Rafaeli, Anat, and Michael Pratt. 1993. "Tailored Meanings: On the Meaning and Impact of Organizational Dress." *Academy of Management Review* 18(1): 32–55.

Rucker, Margaret, Elizabeth Anderson, and April Kangas. 1999. "Clothing, Power and the Workplace." In *Appearance and Power: Dress, Body, Culture*, edited by Kim Johnson and Sharron Lennon, 59–78. New York: Berg.

Saguy, Abigail C., and Kjerstin Gruys. 2010. "Morality and Health: News Media Constructions of Overweight and Eating Disorders." *Social Problems* 57(2): 231–250.

Saguy, Abigail C., and Kevin W. Riley. 2005. "Weighing Both Sides: Morality, Mortality, and Framing Contests over Obesity." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 30(5) (January 10): 869–922. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/16477791.

Scanlon, John. 2005. "The Price of Beauty in South Korea." *BBC* (3 February), http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/4229995.stm. Accessed June 6, 2019.

Song, Jesook. 2009. *South Koreans in the Debt Crisis, the Creation of a Neoliberal Welfare Society*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Williams, Simon. 1995. "Theorising Class, Health and Lifestyles: Can Bourdieu Help Us?" *Sociology of Health and Illness* 17(5): 577–604.

Yu, Jin and Im, Eun-Jin. 2015. "Effects of the Self-Consciousness on Facial Skin Care Behaviours of Male Adults in their 20s and 40s [in Korean]." *Journal of Korean Society of Cosmetology* 11(3): 277–283.

Ulla Ijäs

8 Failing Careers. Men in Business in Nineteenth-century Global Trade

Abstract: This chapter illustrates what the ideal entrepreneur used to be and what sort of behaviour this ideal type included and what this can tell us about masculinity in the early nineteenth-century northern Baltic, among the almost exclusively male timber-trading community. By focusing not on the leading figure(s) or the most powerful men, but on those on the margins of the entrepreneurial elite, the chapter will discuss the multiple masculinities and idea of hegemonic masculinity which would have not been possible without subordinate masculinities.

In order to identify these masculinities, the chapter will discuss the language by which masculinity was created. Scholars studying female entrepreneurs have pointed out that entrepreneurial mentality can be constructed in discourse, the same way as gender. The chapter will also illustrate the importance of family and the materiality and material culture connected with businessmen, which will help to understand the experience of being a businessman.

The analysis is based on close reading of a German bookkeeper Friedrich Wilhelm Klingender's memoirs, written in the 1830s while he lived in a timber trading town of Vyborg in the northern Baltic. Through close reading of the memoirs, it is possible to argue that the masculine ideal was a strong willed, sophisticated and physically strong and virile man, whose material surroundings supported this ideal of masculinity. Entrepreneurial masculinity was essentially that of being a family man, since business was mainly family business – the household was still the main production unit and the goal was to pass the business on to the next generation. The failure to establish a family and a business of his own is well documented in Klingender's memoirs.

Introduction

The entrepreneur is typically portrayed as a modern Western man. He is a person with an inborn 'entrepreneurial personality' who seizes opportunities using

Note: This work was written as part of the project Agents of Enlightenment: Changing the Minds in Eighteenth-Century Northern Europe, funded by the Academy of Finland (2017–2021) under grant number 326253.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-009

his entrepreneurial mentality (Lahtinen 2018, 35–46). Scholars studying female entrepreneurs, however, have pointed out that this entrepreneurial mentality is a discursive construct, much like gender, and hence, "[discourses on] entrepreneurs are linguistic practices that create truth effects, i.e. they contribute to the practicing of gender at the very same time that they contribute to the gendering of entrepreneurial practices" (Bruni, Gherardi and Poggia 2004, 2; Hamilton 2013).

But how were the 'entrepreneur' and his identity constructed in the nineteenth century, when entrepreneurial activities were typically male-dominated? Modern business literature tends to focus on the image of the self-made man, a heroic figure adhering to the gendered stereotypes of a more recent age and largely ignores how both 'business' and what it means to be a 'man' have changed over time. In this chapter, I will illustrate how masculinity was created and maintained in global business in the nineteenth century. I will follow Herbert L. Sussman's example and use the term 'masculinity' to refer to gendered and social expectations for male behaviour (Sussman 2012, 3). Hence, I will scrutinise what it meant to be a man, how this manhood was acquired socially and culturally, and who were not eligible to become (business)men. I will highlight that not all men were allowed access to the same opportunities and rights to become a businessman.

The chapter is based on a close reading of a bookkeeper's memoirs, written in the 1830s. The writer, Friedrich Wilhelm Klingender (1781-c.1848), was a clerk who worked in the global timber industry. He was employed by several merchant houses, which imported timber from northern Baltic ports to Britain, Holland, France and Spain. In nineteenth-century Europe, there were thousands of men like Klingender – unable to establish their own business and hence, unable to climb up the social ladder. These men did not have a future in business nor in their private lives; they stayed single, lived in the small back room of the office doing their chores day after day and spent evenings alone, just like Klingender. These are men whose stories modern business histories have not told. Can we call their life-stories careers? As I will be show through Klingender's case, the expectation that one's working life should show a progression or a level of social climbing, did not necessarily come true for all men who entered the business world with such ambitions. The history of these clerks' 'careers' was shaped not only by heroic notions of masculinity, but also modulated through social class, family background, and age. There is, therefore, no single story of masculinity in the history of work and business (Kwolek-Folland 2001, 10; Craig, Beachy and Owens 2006, 1–19; Hassan Jansson, Fiebranz and Östman 2017, 127).

Klingender wrote his memoirs while he lived in Vyborg, a small town 150 kilometres north-east from St. Petersburg in the Grand Duchy of Finland. The town had a busy harbour; many of the local merchants were German descendants.

Klingender, who was born in Cassel, worked in Hackman and company, which was at that time the leading timber export company in the Grand Duchy. The company was established in 1790 by Johan Friedrich Hackman, who was born in Bremen. During Klingender's time, the company was managed by J. F. Hackman's widow and son, J. F. Hackman jr. Before settling in Vyborg, Klingender had worked in Narva at Suthoff and company, which was another timber trading company owned by Germans, and besides these two family firms, he had been employed by St. Petersburg entrepreneurs. In his memoirs, Klingender wrote about his work, his colleagues and the people who had hired him. He never got married and the memoirs reveal the reason which he thinks is the most important – he was too poor and lacked sufficient social and economic capital to marry a woman of his class or social background. Klingender's ideas about these prerequisites for marriage reveal an essential aspect of nineteenth-century expectations of gender and work, i.e. being a married man and establishing a family was intertwined with 'proper' masculinity among businessmen.

Klingender was active in a period of fast industrialisation and globalisation of the trade. The timber industry was one of the first trades that linked the northern Baltic area to the global trade. Businessmen came to St. Petersburg, Vyborg and Narva – towns where Klingender lived and worked – from several European countries and they all shared similar social codes, religion and social capital. German businessmen settled permanently in Russia and had ties to Russia's elite as well as to the Baltic German elite living in the area (Ojala and Karonen 2006, 95–125; Schulte Beerbühl 2015, 156).

In business history, gender has become an important but somewhat one-sided theme. Historians have demonstrated women's invisibility in business related sources, which has often led to thinking of women's role in the business world as a subordinate one throughout large parts of history (Simonton 2018, 112; Keskinen and Vainio-Korhonen 2018). Less interest has been shown in men and masculinities in business history and even fewer studies have focused on 'subordinate' men in business. Historiography's focus on women may result from the fact that men have historically dominated and now still outnumber women in business, and have therefore been seen to represent the norm within a gender system that has often been studied as binary and less from an intersectional point of view. The view that men's experiences in business represent the historical norm has largely been taken as self-evident and for granted, (Sussman 2012, 5) instead of questioning men's experiences as *men* in business. As Angel Kwoled-Folland has pointed out, in many narratives of business history "men's experience *is* history" (Kwolek-Folland 2001, 4; Tosh 2005, 331).

However, as I will show in this chapter, thinking beyond the supremacy of men in business history, and using the concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 834) could elucidate business history in new ways.

"To Assist my Memory" – Klingender's Journal

Mr. Klingender was a mysterious man. We do not know his first name for certain, it might have been Friedrich Wilhelm but Emil is possible too. The only source for his life story is an old business history (Tigerstedt 1940, 1952).[1] It is probable that he was born in Germany in the 1770s. He might have worked in Frankfurt am Main before migrating to St. Petersburg. At this time, his brother had moved to England where he started a career in business. Klingender worked in several "counting houses", as he calls the merchant houses he worked in, around the Baltic Sea. In late 1838, while living in Vyborg he started his memoirs "to assist my memory." (Remembrances, 163) He kept recalling his journey until October 1839 when de decided to return St. Petersburg after being brushed off by the love of his life, Miss Blanche Beauchant. For an unknown reason, Klingender left his memoirs in Vyborg when he moved to St. Petersburg. His employer', J. F. Hackman jr. kept the book and it is now a part of Hackman's archive in Åbo Akademi manuscript library, where the Hackman family archive is kept in Turku, Finland.

Klingender's memoirs are a unique source; there were not many clerks at his time, living in the northern Baltic, who had had left a personal notebook or journal. Typically, historians have been more interested in successful business managers, autobiographers or well-known diarists' writings more than unknown clerks' notes (Barker 2009). In Russia, not all merchants could read or write and if they could, hardly any of them wrote down their intimate feelings. Instead, a typical merchant or clerk journal was a ledger, filled with incoming and outgoing money and debts (Ransel 2009, xv–xvi). However, in Klingender's memoirs, all these typical elements are missing and hence, we do not know much about his daily life in detail.

Instead of the daily markings of his doings, Klingender's memoirs are a record of his feelings; rather than focusing on business, he pours out his desperate love for Miss Blanche, who had a real-life counterpart in Vyborg. "I could not help thinking of her, and felt that I was pretty deeply in love with her"

1 A business historian Örnulf Tigerstedt has given the name Friedrich Wilhelm, but in some sources, there is a man called Emil Klingender, whose life story resembles F. W. Klingender's. See, e. g. Hessische Biografie ID=8733 Klingender, Jean Frederic.

(Remembrances, 16). Klingender proposed to Blanche twice but was turned down. Klingender interpreted Blanche's rejection as a sign of his failure to attain the 'hegemonic' masculinity of the period, one in which men gained an independent position as a merchant. He himself, as he wrote, 'had nothing to offer' ("je n'ai rien à offrir") and having reached the age of fifty already 'believed it was too late' ("je croyais qu'il étoit trop tard") (Remembrances, 177) to gain access to this hegemonic identity of an independent, married man and businessowner. That did not stop him from aspiring to such a role, however. Klingender's memoirs resemble those journals and diaries of eighteenth-century British gentlemen, who shared their preoccupations with the costs and benefits of marriage, studied by Amanda Vickery (Vickery 2009, 57). The memoirs resemble also eighteenth-century Swedish middle-class men's erotic journals studied by Jonas Liliequist (2007). It seems that at that time, a habit of writing erotic memoirs or a personal journal was quite widely spread among the middling sort of men; writing an intimate journal might have been crucial for the masculine ideal. In these journals, men revealed their feelings and emotional distresses, but also boasted about their triumphs with women, creating hegemonic masculinity by subordinating and oppressing women.

Klingender's memoirs are written in English, partly in French. Neither these languages were his native; he spoke German and used German in his daily businesses. It seems that Klingender wanted to practice his language skills, or perhaps he wanted to keep his memoirs private. He encoded names, too. He used the *nom de plume* David Glöckner when referring to himself as a writer, but he also used the pseudonyms Jonathan Mercour and Ebeneser McReady. These men gathered "at the Tea Time" and told their life stories to each other. By choosing these characters, he constructed an alternative narrative of masculinity, based on a male homosocial world he was used to living in. In most part of the memoirs, Jonathan Mercour reminisced about his journeys and his desperate love for Miss Blanche. Under his pseudonyms, Klingender made sarcastic and malicious comments about the people he knew. For example, when he described one of his employees in Narva, Eduard Sutthoff, he wrote: "Ned Dry, who likewise, was brought up a Scholar, but turned a Merchant, without having any right notions about Commerce, which however he has the good Sense not to pretend to have" (Remembrances, 9). Klingender's memoirs resemble nineteenth-century 'club talk'; gossiping, telling stories and passing anecdotal information as well as making sarcastic comments about people. This 'club talk' may illustrate how gender was created and maintained (Milne-Smith 2009). According to Amy Milne-Smith, "[i]n sharing gossip within the clubs, members created and reaffirmed social and gender boundaries" (Milne-Smith 2009, 87). It was not insignificant with whom gossip was shared. Klingender lacked a close circle of friends in Vyborg – he

found the local businessmen the least interesting ones ("why a general meeting of gentlemen of Wyburg could not be interesting") (Remembrances, 114). Instead of mingling with the local men, he chose to build an alternative masculine narrative of three hard-working and intelligent men who were outsiders and had an arrogant attitude towards other men, whom he thought were lazy and not up-to-date with their duties: "Man in whatever situation he may be, ought to do his duty, you will find that not one out of a hundred people has even a proper idea of his duties, and that therefore we cannot expect the greater part of them to do it" (Remembrances, 35).

"Selfish as a Merchant Needs to be"

Klingender's opinion about merchants was cynical and pessimistic, affected by his own failures. However, his view reflected that of the new self-made man type of businessman, which he preferred. He described his employers, timber merchants Herman, Wilhelm, Eduard and Robert Sutthoff as "remarkably close fisted, as the merchants' term it, as selfish as a merchant needs to be [. . .]" and not industrious or stirring, as merchants ought to be (Remembrances, 6). Furthermore, he stated that merchants should not be swindlers but honourable men, independent and capable of taking risks (Remembrances, 22). "The object of all their pains is the hoarding up amassing Money" (Remembrances, 40) was Klingender's final verdict on merchants. This echoes a new entrepreneurial masculinity, based on individual wins and moving away from the old narrative of aristocratic gender norms in which the mark of a man was inherited wealth (Sussman 2012, 91).

When Klingender wrote his memoirs, he was over 50 years old and against his own will, still working as a clerk, which may explain why he was so cynical, sarcastic and even malicious. He understood that the new type of heroic entrepreneur – one who was seeking self-interest, who was industrious and using his money wisely – was something to aspire to, but the local merchant community was still clinging on the old communal values, which were very much in use among the Baltic merchants in the first part of the nineteenth-century (Keskinen 2018). The disappointments and the discrepancy between his ideals and the reality were written all over the pages of his memoirs. In the 1830s, when Klingender wrote his memoirs, economic difficulties affected the international trading community in Vyborg. At the time, the path to an independent position in the business was not an easy one and Klingender might have felt that he had lost his last chance when the economic crisis hit the markets.

Among the Baltic merchant community, gendered norms and ideals were based on the presupposition that clerks were young men, who were practicing for their future careers in business. In reality, this potential was available only for few select individuals with a suitable family background or for those with right skills and personality, who happened to be at the right place at the right time. Young men were introduced to the masculine world of trade in their late teens. They worked as clerks and learnt everything they needed to become an independent merchant by apprenticing in merchant houses. This was the common custom all over Europe and dated back to the Middle Ages (Ogilvie 2014; Schulte Beerbühl 2015, 33). The Swedish law of 1734, which was used in Vyborg, stated that a merchant had to have decent training and qualifications to become a merchant. He should have enough skills in mathematics, bookkeeping, and different measurements before he could take his burgher's oath, which all merchants and businessmen had to take according to the law. An apprenticeship lasted seven years, and the young apprentice had to work for four years as a clerk before he could become an independent merchant. If the young man was a son of a merchant, his training time could be reduced since he would have learned the trade while growing up (Vainio-Korhonen 2010, 221–227; Nyberg and Jakobsson 2012, 41–43; Keskinen and Vainio-Korhonen 2018).

The above pictured system excluded women – daughters could not have similar training – and created a masculine realm of business. Furthermore, the system of becoming a burgher-merchant excluded men without proper training and skills, elevating skilled and trained merchants into a hegemonic position. This hegemony was based on the subordination of women and other, less qualified men. In addition to this, the merchant's masculine ideal was based on communal values and the common good – all merchants protected their mutual group interests instead of individual ambitions. If a merchant sought only his personal interest, this could shake the whole community and the business network might collapse. Before the Industrial Revolution, which took place in northern Europe later than in Britain or in continental Europe, business was based on security-seeking monopolies, not profit-seeking individuals (Keskinen 2018; Müller 1998, 20–22). This may have led to an even more exclusive norm of masculinity, which shut out men who tried to shake the community with their far too independent ideas and actions. Access to this community was denied to Klingender, who was inspired by the independent and industrious merchant type which he had learned to appreciate during his journeys to Britain and France. This led him to create an imagined world where he could express his feelings and thoughts without being criticised for his modern thoughts. The alternative narrative of masculinity in Klingender's memoirs was based on imagined independence: "you enjoy one which, after health, is worth

more than all the rest, – namely independence" (Remembrances, 68), which he actually lacked in real life.

Becoming a proper merchant and burgher, i.e. fulfilling the masculine potential in a town, demanded social and financial capital. A merchant had to have three men who guaranteed him – without the social capital an aspiring merchant was denied access to hegemonic masculinity. The implied norm was that a burgher should be honest and trustworthy, otherwise his fellow burgers would not guarantee him. For a foreigner who had lived an "unsettled life" (Remembrances, 5), proving this was difficult. In other words, Klingender lacked social capital. He was supported and valued as a clerk, but not as an equal merchant. Without money, since the burgher's rights cost, a young man could not become a burgher. This was the block Klingender stumbled over; he lacked the money because he had not saved his earnings; "I spent money freely, as long as I had it" (Remembrances, 5). By writing this, Klingender might have created yet another angle to his alternative narrative of masculinity by choosing not to follow the ideal narrative of the frugal businessman who saves his earnings to invest in his business. Instead, Klingender created a narrative of a spendthrift man, who indulges himself and lives like there is no tomorrow, which does not fit into the ideal model of a businessman of the time but instead reflects the lifestyle of a merry bachelor – or that of a modern, risk-taking, businessman.

"I Should Tell Him to Marry . . ."

In accounts of business history, the focus has been on the workplace, not on the home. Men's occupational roles and duties as family men are quite anachronistically separated (Harvey 2009, 521), yet the importance of marriage is recognised (Müller 1998; Sussman 2012, 93; Schulte Beerbühl 2015, 116). However, when studying early nineteenth-century businessmen, home and the domestic environment, their families and wives, were a crucial part of their occupational identity. (Tosh 2005; Keskinen and Vainio-Korhonen 2018, 134) Amanda Vickery has pointed out that "the polish of female company was crucial for the achievement of modern polite manhood" in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century (Vickery 2009, 198). Men showed their superiority in the choice of a wife who could support their career and could bolster their performance of masculinity. Klingender worked in a homosocial environment but dreamt of marrying and thought that marriage was a man's doom. "If I had a Son, and if he came to ask my advice, I should tell him to marry, as soon as he was so situated as to be able to maintain his wife; – there is no alternative in this

affair, it is the principal affair in this world, it is what we are here for, it is our doom . . .” (Remembrances, 72).

In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century business, marriage was important because the merchant family and community must reproduce. Swedish historian Leos Müller has pointed out that “social reproduction of the family was a basic motivation of any entrepreneurial activity” (Müller 1998, 31–32). Especially for the old communal system, marriages were an important way to renew, expand and stabilise business networks and to collect capital (Keskinen 2019, 79; Müller 1998, 250). This means that being married, staying married and having children was crucial for businessmen and in the world of global business, hegemonic masculinity was intertwined with being a family man. An unmarried merchant could not reach his full potential as a merchant and man, because he could not produce an heir to his business. Furthermore, married men were considered more respectable, reliable and trustworthy, in some cases even morally and economically superior to unmarried men (van Broek 2011, 292, 294).

British historian John Tosh has demonstrated that in nineteenth-century Britain, new ‘modern’ masculinity was organised around a dual commitment to work and home, giving way to the bourgeois society of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe. The nineteenth century was, indeed, crucial for the development of an entrepreneurial, individualistic masculinity which combined a demanding work ethic with the comforts of home (Tosh 2005, 331–332). This dual commitment can be read from the Klingender’s journal. In other words, in Klingender’s lifetime, hegemonic masculinity in the business world became a narrative of women’s absence from the workplace, and men’s access to a domestic sphere, where the wisely chosen wife reigned the drawing room (Vickery 2009, 198) even if both of those were not necessarily the day-to-day reality of every family. It seems that the division of duties was gendered in Klingender’s social circles, leading him to point out several times that it is men’s duty to provide for their families. (Remembrances, 73, 159) In an imagined marital agreement he described his fictional friends’ duties: “[I]being the husbands’ duty to maintain and protect his wife and family, Mr. Steadymore will steadily work for that purpose, and earn the necessary to provide for their mutual wants, whereas it will be Miss Morelove’s province to keep the house and table in good order” (Remembrances, 159).

During Klingender’s lifetime, middle-class men became ‘bread-winners’, exclusively responsible for the family income (Davidoff and Hall 1987, 229–271) and as the above illustrated journal extract points out, this was the model Klingender preferred. There are numerous studies discussing when the separation between work and family lives began. Typically, scholars place it at eighteenth- or nineteenth centuries, when privatisation took place in European

society (Vickery 2009, 27; Harvey 2009, 521–523; Tosh 1999). It seems that in Klingender's social circles, the separation between the masculine world of business and the feminine realm of home was already the norm.

In large timber export companies, even when they were owned and managed by a woman (only a merchant's widow could do this), the female owner-manager seldom spent her time in the "counting house". As Jarkko Keskinen and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen have pointed out, in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century, the Swedish Crown revised legislation which led to restrictions on women's participation in family business (Keskinen and Vainio-Korhonen 2018, 135), creating even more gender-specific workplaces and business environments. Hence, the office space in large companies was strongly masculine. Young men were trained in all-male trading houses, they lived with their male colleagues, and after-work socialising was performed in same-sex groups, so it is hardly surprising that women remained mysterious and remote to men in business and this distance was reflected in their private lives and lives of families, too (Tosh 1999).

Then, because (some) men lacked the experience of living their everyday lives beside women, relating to them socially and emotionally was complex for some men. Expressing excessive feelings of love ran counter to norms surrounding the 'right' kind of masculinity. If a man was too deeply in love and affected by romantic emotions, he might have lost his independence and, therefore, his superiority over women. (Liliequist 2007) and become unable to provide for his wife and pursue his career. This was also Klingender's fear: "I ~~should~~[2] despise a man who could be completely ruled by a woman!" (Remembrances, 133).

Klingender's sentimental expressions of love did not lead to marriage and so, instead of becoming a breadwinner and representing what could be seen as hegemonic masculinity in his social circle, he turned his life into an alternative narrative of a merry bachelor life and described women despisingly. "I am not fond of the character of women in general, and above all things I hate, and abominate their frivolity" (Remembrances, 50). This negative attitude towards women did not prevent him from dreaming of his beloved Blanche, who was not like other women but wise, talented and witty (Remembrances, 139).

Klingender who was raised and trained in a masculine business environment seem to have been perplexed with women; he knew how to court them but not how to approach them as equals. Nor does he write anything about the life after the wedding ceremony, which he dreamt having with Blanche (Remembrances, 162). In the

2 The crossing-out is by Klingender.

public discourse, as well as in Klingender's memoirs, questions of whether to marry and when to marry were more important than how to be a good husband or a father (Tosh 1999, 79).

Klingender created a counter-narrative of what could be seen as 'complicit' masculinity, in a context in which the hegemonic norm was deeply rooted in family life. The counter-narrative of a bachelor life, where men could gather together to "have a bit of chitchat together" (Remembrances, 2), is written all over the pages of the memoirs. This narrative does not dismiss domesticity, but rather creates an all-male version of it, which was a refuge from daily drudgery – providing the emotional and psychological support a man needed in his life, (Tosh 1999, 6) through the company of other men. As Karen Harvey points out "[a]n emerging middle-class domesticity did not exclude men; they were a (literally) central part of its constitution" (Harvey 2009, 527). In other words, not only did men-only clubs and associations not preclude family men from also being central to family life – socialising in all-male company at homes could represent a mode of domesticity for those who fell short of the norm, but did not openly disrupt or contest hegemony either, as Klingender's memoirs vividly illustrate.

Klingender remained a bachelor, which was quite typical in the nineteenth-century business world. Although a marriage was crucial, men married late, because they had to accomplish an independent status and establish their own business before getting married. Hence, there was a strong bachelor culture in the realm of business, which may emerge as men's preference for town pleasures, intellectual male company, 'gay' life, or on the other hand, as devotion to their career, public duties and making profit (Tosh 1999, 173, 175). It seems that there was room for multiple masculinities or diversity within hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 835, 845). Hegemonic masculinity might have embraced aspects of bachelor culture while heavily depending on marriage and domesticity. The strong bachelor culture among businessmen therefore helped to enforce hegemonic masculinity. According to Connell and Messerschmidt, hegemonic masculinity became most powerful when there was a group of men who showed 'complicit masculinity'. These men received the benefits of patriarchy without performing a strong masculine dominance (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 832). Clerks and unmarried men benefitted from hegemonic masculinity; their place in the business was not threatened by women, since the local practices and legislation shut the doors for most of women. Beside this, 'complicit masculinity' took advantage of hegemonic masculinity which was deeply connected with leading positions in business and the family life – bachelors and clerks did not take responsibility for either of these duties. Instead, they could live quite carefree and happy lives, which

Klingender recognised in his memoirs: "Riches perhaps would not have made you happier than you are now, my good friend" (Remembrances, 5).

"Mixed with Pride and Vanity Inspired by Wealth"

Masculinity was embedded locally in specific social environments (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 839) and represented by material culture, noticed and illustrated by Klingender as well as scholars studying eighteenth- and nineteenth-century masculinity and the world of trade (Hunt 1996, 4; Vickery 2009, 162). Klingender wrote several times about his visits to his friends' country homes.

"Tuesday, in making visits to some of my friends in the country, first to Mr. Bützow of Terwajocki, which place, by dint of industry, care and, (as some people say) a greater expense than the owners are able to make, is become the finest country seat about Wyburg, thus to Mr. Dannenberg of Kiskila, and lastly to General Etter, of Wainika, who has made great improvements at his country place, so much so, that what cost him perhaps 5000, he now asks 30000 Roubles for" (Remembrances, 137).

These country houses illustrated their owners' success in life – Mr. Bützow being a doctor and Mr. Dannenberg a merchant. Klingender's employers, Sutthoffs in Narva and Hackmans in Vyborg, also had country houses near the towns where they lived (Ijäs 2015). These country houses were purchased with the money the owners had earned in their profession, or with money they had inherited, married or borrowed, or with the money they never had, as Mr. Bützow's case points out. A country house to which one could retire signalled a businessman's success. Middle-class masculinity emulated on the one hand a noble lifestyle with family estates, and on the other hand, created their own standards of material success, which the country houses manifested without a doubt (Hunt 1996, 6).

Klingender did not have a country seat, which was yet another failure; he recollected numerous visits to country houses and what improvements the owners had done, but then, in the evening, he had to withdraw to his small and uncomfortable room where he was required to stay, despite his attempts to demand better quarters (Remembrances, 132). In his memoirs, Klingender describes the rooms he stayed in with few words, feeling sorry for himself for being forced to stay in "a Single room, so low, that, without stretching out your hand much above your head, you could reach the ceiling, and so Narrow, that there was room for two persons only, but for no more" (Remembrances, 4). These spatial arrangements did not encourage married life, but instead, reflected a life of and

a dedication to work. Single men in the world of business lived modestly, without calling their lodgings home but a quarter. Their masculinity was mainly created and maintained outside residential houses, but in clubs and other public places and rooms (Tosh 1999, 127), which might turn these places into spots where 'complicit masculinity' is enforced and which is discussed later in this chapter.

Hegemonic masculinity is related to ways of representing men's bodies (Connell and Messerschimdt 2005, 851). Visually, materially and bodily exemplifying masculinity in the business were the suit and the outfit. A businessman could typically be recognised from his appearance, which has been a well-tailored suit since the late nineteenth-century (Finn 2000, 137–138; Sussman 2012, 82). We do not know what Klingender looked like; he does not refer to his appearance, nor are there any markings about his purchases in the memoirs. The clerks might have worn a brown jacket and black breeches, which was almost like a clerk's uniform before the ready-made suits and changeable white collars took their place in the latter part of the nineteenth century (van Broek 2011, 296). In the early nineteenth-century Europe, almost all men wore a dark-coloured tailcoat, which had replaced the colourful French style coats and embroidered waistcoats, worn by aristocracy and imitated by lower rank men (Snellman, Vajanto and Suomela 2018; Sussman 2012, 82; Finn 2000, 154).

In Klingender's lifetime, men's outfits still clearly expressed and visualised social rank. Especially in nineteenth-century Russia, men of various occupations and ranks, including civilians, had their own uniforms (Ransel 2007, 427; Snellman, Vajanto and Suomela 2018). For example, when J. F. Hackman became the Prussian consul in 1803, he could wear a blue jacket with red labels and white breeches, tailored by a St. Petersburg tailor (Ijäs 2014). Uniforms not only expressed masculine status but also power and bodily strengths; uniforms shaped the male body and a well-fitting tailored uniform was a sharp contrast to a shaggy and baggy clerk's outfit with ink stained sleeves. Especially the uniform, taking inspiration from military uniforms, connected masculinity with war, bodily strength and physical power. Hegemonic masculinity as it was performed by the uniform wearer was therefore not only an abstract construction, but a highly visual and bodily experience.

Impeccable appearance was important; masculinity was connected with honesty, trustworthiness, modesty and high work ethics, all of which the outfit revealed and enforced. Hegemonic masculinity demands constant negotiation with what is fashionable – the outfit or habitus is not a self-reproducing form (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 844). The importance of an outfit can be realised when studying men's expenditures on textiles and clothing; men all over Europe, from Britain to Vyborg, spent substantial amounts of money for fabrics and for accessories, and

discussed the latest fashion and styles (Finn 2000, 140; Ijäs 2014). Klingender was not blind to men's outfits; when he met Colonel Boije on his friend's country estate, he noticed that the Colonel was elegantly dressed, which in Klingender interpretation reflected his military-administrative office: "as elegantly will the Province no doubt be governed" (Remembrances, 151). This is in strong contrast with his employer Sutthoff, who "had a silly appearance [. . .] mixed with the pride and vanity inspired by wealth" (Remembrances, 130). In the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century business world, money could not buy taste and style, but 'savoir vivre' was seen as intrinsic and as a result of good breeding. The lack of this denied Klingender access to the polite society (Remembrances, 168),[3] despite his own efforts to follow fashion and his ability to know when vanity overcomes good taste.

The external expressions of masculinity embraced by the elites were hard and sometimes impossible to reach by outsiders or by lower class men (Ilmakunnas 2017, 243–264). This enforces the fact that there were several masculinities at play (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 835), some of which lower class men were unable to reach, and in some cases, they might have developed their own masculine codes, expressed in their appearance, but which Klingender's memoirs do not reveal.

"I have seen Clubbs at Petersburg, in Germany and in England"

As noted above, the home was not the only important place where masculinity was created, negotiated and revalued. In Klingender's memoirs, he remembers his theatre visits, nights at clubs and his walks in nature and at parks. These activities and performances, such as promenading, 'made men' in every business- and gentlemen society all over Europe and the colonies (White 2006). One of the most iconic places for nineteenth-century masculinity was a gentlemen's club, which was a homosocial but at the same time very exclusive place. The access to a club might have been the ticket to hegemonic masculinity at the time.

Klingender boasted that "I have seen Clubbs [sic] at Petersburg, in Germany and in England, and I have to found them to be much the same everywhere.

3 On 11 September, 1839, Klingender refused to go to his friend's wedding, because the father in law has treated him disrespectfully, hinting that he lacked good breeding and "savoir vivre".

People [i.e. men] meet to read the Newspapers, to play at Cards or at Billiards, and to converse [. . .]" (Remembrances, 113, see also 27, 127, 138). In the nineteenth century, according to the separate spheres ideology, homes became more and more feminised spaces, even as men remained central to domestic life. Clubs were places where men could escape the responsibilities of domestic life, a place of their own (Black 2012, 16, 19). Gentlemen's clubs were places where masculinity was negotiated, maintained and revaluated; men's 'club talk' was a way to prove one's masculinity. Because talk was an integral part of the gentlemen's clubs, masculinity and gender were created orally, in discourse in a homosocial community (Milne-Smith 2009).

According to Klingender, the club and theatre in Vyborg were places he preferred to avoid – there, the insipid local society gathered and gossiped. Yet again, Klingender chose an alternative route, which he created by staying alone in his rooms. Men in Vyborg Club did not have the masculine characteristics Klingender preferred – Vyborg club men tended to gossip instead of discussing with each other, and they were not as learned as Klingender would have wished for (Remembrances, 114). Klingender could have visited the club if he had wanted to, but chose not to. Klingender expressed 'complicit masculinity' – he benefitted from hegemonic masculinity of the club men by gaining access to the club which was not open to all men, and knew the language codes of the club talk, but he chose to step aside, perhaps because his subordinate position became evident in the club. Constructed largely through social practice and sociability, both hegemonic and complicit masculinity would be more obvious in such a place (Connell and Messerschimdt 2005, 832).

For Klingender, because he was not able or willing to enter the gentlemen's club in Vyborg, he replaced going to the club by writing his memoirs, remembering old discussions and filling the pages with 'club talk'. 'Club talk' was a crucial part of this process of creating the right kind of middle-class masculinity. This talk was mixed with false rumours and frivolity; being able to tell a good story was an important way to demonstrate one's status as a gentleman (Gordon 2006, 38–39; Milne-Smith 2009, 93). All the aspects of 'club talk' are well represented in Klingender's memoirs; he gossips, tells stories and points out his own virtues, turning his bad habits and misfortunes in his career to his personal triumphs. The masculine persona he created through this written 'club talk' was perhaps so deeply rooted in this way of talking that he did not notice the paradox of being guilty of similar gossiping and bragging which he did not appreciate in other men's discussions at the Vyborg Club. The use of 'club talk' also reveals that Klingender sought hegemonic masculinity and that family and independence at business were not the only aspects of hegemonic masculinity he aimed at. Despite avoiding

Vyborg's clubs, he enacted its practices in his diary, where he attempted to both perform and challenge aspects of the ideal of hegemonic masculinity simultaneously.

Making it Like a Man?

Klingender's life story reveals a man whose real name remains unknown. He was one of the thousands of paid workers who enabled the transnational trade in the nineteenth-century Europe, but who did not leave their names into business histories. Typically, the focus has been on the leading figures and those who performed hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity, however, would not have been possible without complicit and subordinate men. Gender history has discussed women quite extensively, representing one subordinate group in the realm of business, but less attention has been paid to non-leading men in the world of business. Their careers might reveal new perspectives on the history of business, work, career and gender.

Klingender's memoirs follow a similar pattern as that of their British and Swedish counterparts, revealing the emotional journey of a middling sort man. Beside the affectional story of a missed love and marriage, the memoirs illustrate how hegemonic masculinity, in the business world, changes in the early nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century, community values reign supreme and a 'career' is defined as gaining stature in the community. This career is strongly connected to family values, being a merchant's son, then being a husband and father and hence, reproducing the community. By the end of the century, the career-model becomes that of the 'self-made man' whose individual qualities such as industrious mindset and willingness to take risks mark him out as a good businessman. Klingender lived through the process of change, and therefore he does not fit into either model. He was geographically mobile, a bachelor who imagined himself – perhaps wrongly – to be capable of being a businessman and husband. He shared some of the morals of the old model – perhaps due to his Calvinist upbringing – whilst also being dismissive of some of the old community values and instead, promoted a new industrious and risk-taking type of businessman. In other words, what he actually practiced was 'complicit masculinity': he shared the ambitions that were typical of the 'old' hegemonic masculinity and effectively supported this ideal by embracing club-talk and caring deeply about marriage and family life – without actually reaching hegemonic status himself. But he also seems to have appreciated a

modern shift toward a more individualistic model of business, indicating that his relation to the extant model of hegemonic masculinity was complex.

Klingender's memoirs reveal that early nineteenth-century business world masculinity was socially diverse; there were business families lead by independent merchant-burghers and then there were clerks – typically young men – who did the monotonous daily work of keeping books and writing letters. Hence, it would be better to discuss masculinities in the plural. The latter group – unmarried men – might have developed a specific lifestyle, diverged from the conventional norm for businessmen which was intertwined with family life and which was important for the 'old' masculinity. In a situation when clerks were denied performing hegemonic masculinity, they turned away creating their own codes where boisterous behaviour, drinking, gossiping, and to some extent, misogynist attitudes were praised. This may lead to toxic masculinity, separating different groups of men – married and unmarried, young and old, those with higher moral or religious beliefs from those with more secular worldviews – from each other, which would eventually affect the society at the whole. The 'new' type of masculinity, emerging in the latter part of the nineteenth century, might have been built upon the bachelor type of masculinity. The new self-made man type of masculinity preferred risk-taking and individualistic thinking; at the time, the home and family life were not necessary prerequisites for businessmen. It is highly possible that the new business elite rose from the group of young boisterous clerks who did not find their place among the old businessmen. This meant also that the preferred masculinity changed; then, virility, homosocial behaviour and a clear separation of work and home became dominant features of masculinity.

Masculinity was not only a narrative, created by 'club talk' or by other older narratives which encouraged family life, but a lived experience. Hegemonic masculinity among the businessmen was linked with the material surroundings that supported their power position. Well-to-do men had their country houses, flamboyant uniforms and outfits while Klingender and clerks like him had to live in small back-office rooms and to wear ink-stained clothes. Although hegemonic masculinity was a spatial, visual and bodily experience – how a man lived and dressed affected his experiences of everyday life – it was also a conscious reconstruction. When a man was aspiring to hegemony, or when he reached it, the standard of living and how he dressed was not insignificant but a conscious choice, based on society's demands and cultural codes, to demonstrate one's wealth and status. It was not insignificant how men lived, dressed and how they spent their time at work and at leisure, because it created dominance – spatial, bodily and cultural – over other men and women. This dominance may turn into a special business culture where a man's career and success in it affect his life and the lives of his

family members, associates, friends and the society at large. Career failure was therefore not only a personal temporarily misfortune but reveals his incapability of being a man. This might be the reason why Klingender's memoir had such a depressed undertone.

Sources

Åbo Akademis Library (ÅA), Handelshuset Hackman, HH 33, Remembrances . . .
Hessen Landesgeschichtliches Informationssystem, Hessische Biografie, Projekt "Collegium Carolinum": Professoren: Klingender, Jean Frederic. Link to the online source: https://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/drec/mode/projects/projectId/cc/id/8733/current/14/cIndex/0/sn/bio (Accessed March 30, 2020).

References

Barker, Hannah. 2009. "A Grocer's Tale: Gender, Family and Class in Early Nineteenth-Century Manchester." *Gender & History* 21(2): 340–357.
Black, Barbara J. 2012. *A Room of His Own: A Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
Bruni, Attila Silvia Gherardi, and Barbara Poggio. 2004. "Entrepreneur-mentality, gender and the study of women entrepreneurs." *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 17(3): 256–268.
Connell, Raewyn, and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society* 19(6): 829–859.
Craig, Beatrice Robert Beachy, and Alastair Owens. 2006. "Introduction." In *Women, Business and Finance in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Rethinking Separate Spheres*, edited by Robert Beachy, Béatrice Craig, and Alastair Owens, 1–19. Oxford: Berg.
Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. 1987. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*. London: Hutchinson.
Finn, Margot. 2000. "Men's things: masculine possession in the consumer revolution." *Social History* 25(2): 133–155.
Gordon, Jan B. 2006. *Gossip and Subversion in the Nineteenth-Century Novel: Echo Economies*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Hamilton, Eleanor. 2013. "The Discourse of Entrepreneurial Masculinities (and Femininities)." *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development* 25 (1–2): 90–99.
Harvey, Karen. 2009. "Men Making Home: Masculinity and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain." *Gender & History* 21(3): 520–540.
Hassan Jansson, Karin, Rosemarie Fiebranz, and Ann-Catrin Östman. 2017. "Constitutive Tasks. Performances of Hierarchy and Identity". In *Making a Living, Making a Difference. Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society*, edited by Maria Ågren, 127–158. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hunt, Margaret. 1996. *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ijäs, Ulla. 2014. "Favourites of Fortune: The Luxury Consumption of the Hackmans of Vyborg, 1790–1825." In *Luxury and Gender in European Towns, 1700–1914*, edited by Deborah Simonton, Marjo Kaartinen, and Anne Montenach, 190–205. Routledge Studies in Cultural History. London and New York: Routledge.

Ijäs, Ulla. 2015. Talo, kartano, puutarha. Kauppahuoneen omistaja Marie Hackman ja hänen kulutusvalintansa varhaismodernissa Viipurissa. Turku: Turun yliopisto.

Ilmakunnas, Johanna. 2017. "French Fashions: Aspects of Elite Lifestyle in Eighteenth-Century Sweden." In *A Taste for Luxury in Early Modern Europe: Display, Acquisition and Boundaries*, edited by Johanna Ilmakunnas, and Jon Stobart, 243–264. London and New York: Bloomsbury.

Keskinen, Jarkko. 2019. "Cooperative Competition: Business Culture in the Finnish Merchant Community in the First Half of the 19th Century." *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 44(3): 287–309.

Keskinen, Jarkko, and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen. 2018. "Statutory Invisibility: Urban Business Women's Legal and Political Rights". In *Women in Business Families from Past to Present*, edited by Jarna Heinonen, and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, 134–152. London and New York: Routledge.

Kwolek-Folland, Angel. 2001. "Gender and business history." *Enterprise & Society* 2(1): 1–10.

Lahtinen, Anu. 2018. "Tough Times, Tough Measures. Widows as Heroic Entrepreneurs." In *Women in Business Families. From Past to Present*, edited by Jarna Heinonen, and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, 35–46. Routledge Advances in Management and Business Studies. New York and London: Routledge.

Liliequist, Jonas. 2007. "Masculinity and Virility – Representations of Male Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Sweden." In *The Trouble With Ribs: Women, Men and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Anu Korhonen, and Kate Lowe. COLLeGIUM. Studies Across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Vol. 2. http://www.helsinki.fi/collegium/journal/volumes/volume_2/index.htm (accessed March 30, 2020)

Milne-Smith, Anne. 2009. "Club Talk: Gossip, Masculinity and Oral Communities in Late Nineteenth-Century London." *Gender & History* 21(1)(April): 86–106.

Müller, Leos. 1998. *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm, c. 1640–1800. A Comparative Study of Early-Modern Entrepreneurial Behaviour*. Uppsala University Press, Uppsala.

Nyberg, Klas, and Håkan Jakobsson. 2012. *Storköpmän som samhällskraft: Borgerskap och Grosshandelssocietet i Stockholm*. Informationsförlaget, Stockholm.

Ogilvie, Sheilagh. 2014. The Economics of Guilds. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 28(4): 169–192.

Ojala, Jari, and Petri Karonen. 2006. "Finnish Business: rooted in social capital over the centuries." In *The Road to Prosperity: An Economic History of Finland*, edited by Jari Ojala, Jari Eloranta, Jukka Jalava, and Rita Asplund, 93–125. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Ransel, David L. 2007. "Russian Merchants: Citizenship and Identity." In *Eighteenth-Century Russia. Society, Culture, Economy. Papers from the VII International Conference of the Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia*, edited by Roger Bartlett, and Gabriela Lehmann-Carli, 417–428. Berlin: Lit Verlag.

Ransel, David L. 2009. *A Russian Merchant's Tale. The Life and Adventures of Ivan Alekseevich Tolchënov, Based on His Diary*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Schulte Beerbühl, Margrit. 2015. *The Forgotten Majority. German Merchants in London, Naturalization, and Global Trade, 1660–1815*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn.

Simonton, Deborah. 2018. "'All the Days of Their Lives.' Women, Business, and Family." In *Women in Business Families. From Past to Present*, edited by Jarna Heinonen, and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, 111–133. Routledge Advances in Management and Business Studies. New York and London: Routledge.

Snellman, Alex, Krista Vajanto, and Jenni Suomela. 2018. "The Professorial Uniform of Elias Lönnrot: Russian Imperial Materiality in Finland." *Artefactum* No 9.

Sussman, Herbert L. 2012. *Masculine Identities: The History and Meanings of Manliness*. Santa Barbara, Denver and Oxford: Praeger Press.

Tigerstedt, Örnulf. 1940. *Kauppahuone Hackman. Erään vanhan Wiipurin kauppiassuvun vaiheet 1790–1879. I osa*. Helsinki: Otava.

Tigerstedt, Örnulf. 1952. *Kauppahuone Hackman. Erään vanhan Wiipurin kauppiassuvun vaiheet* 1790–1879. II osa. Helsinki: Otava.

Tosh, John. 1999. *A Man's Place. Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Tosh, John. 2005. "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800–1914." *Journal of British Studies* 44(2): 330–342.

Vainio-Korhonen, Kirsi. 2010. "Kaupan ja käsityön ammattikasvatus." In *Huoneentaulun maailma: kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa keskiajalta 1860-luvulle*, edited by Jussi Hanska, Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, and Pauli Kettunen, 231–255. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

van Broek, Diane. 2011. "Strapping, as well as numerate: Occupational identity, masculinity and the aesthetics of nineteenth-century banking." *Business History* 53(3): 289–301.

Vickery, Amanda. 2009. *Behind Closed Doors. At Home in Georgian England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

White, Cameron. 2006. "Promenading and Picnicking: The Performance of Middle-class Masculinity in Nineteenth-Century Sydney." *Journal of Australian Studies* 89: 27–40.

Cassie DeFillipo

9 Bonding through Objectification: The Gendered Effects of Commercial Sex on Male Homosocial Work Culture in Northern Thailand and Beyond

Abstract: In Northern Thailand, visiting sex workers alongside male peers has historically been a bonding technique that enables men to perform masculinity among their male co-workers. While research uncovering men's work-based visits to sex workers is limited, it has been found that men who do business with each other may provide or expect commercial sex visits as part of workplace negotiations; this has been considered "an unremarkable aspect of male professional life" (VanLandingham et al. 1998, 2003). Drawing on one year of ethnographic fieldwork in Northern Thailand, this research utilises the lens of multiple masculinities to assert that workplace bonding in the modern era both perpetuates and challenges gender inequalities.

This chapter first examines the gendered effects of visits to commercial sex establishments among male co-workers. By reviewing methods through which male co-workers perform masculinities in relation to commercial sex, this article will argue that workplace negotiations of manhood through the purchase of commercial sex work affects both men and women. This chapter will conclude by affirming that men who bond through the purchasing of commercial sex create homosocial environments that objectify women and sustain glass ceilings for women in the workplace.

Introduction

It is almost nine p.m. at an unmarked brothel with boarded windows on a busy street near the centre of Chiang Mai. Many passers-by likely assume the shop is a small house; however, male employees stand outside the shop and invite men to come inside and purchase sexual services. A group of approximately 15 women ranging in ages from 20 to 35 sit inside waiting for male customers. When I enter, no customers are present. In this establishment, female employees primarily come from Myanmar. I chat with one of the female employees, who giggles nervously as she recounts coming to Thailand to work in brothels one year ago, when two men in their thirties who are already noticeably drunk

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-010

enter together. At first, they ask the male employee standing in the doorway why I am in the brothel. Then they jokingly ask me what I cost, telling me I could only be worth 200 baht, or less than €5 (approximately half the cost of commercial sex in the establishment). They sit down and order a beer to share before starting a conversation with me and my research assistant from across the room. After a few minutes of banter, they then move tables to join us at our seats. These two men in their thirties, who both work in the construction industry, are named Songkarn and Sud. Songkarn and Sud are in the middle of a night of drinking and fun, which in Thailand often involves ventures to commercial sex establishments (Fordham 1995; VanLandingham et al. 1998; Lyttleton 2000). In fact, they had already purchased sexual services this evening and had returned for a second round of sex after the first round ended in orgasm for Songkarn but not for Sud.

While Songkarn and Sud visit the brothel to engage in paid sex, their purpose for visiting commercial sex workers is not solely for sexual gratification; rather, commercial sex establishments such as this brothel are important spaces for male bonding. Considered a legitimate form of male entertainment, especially for men located in urban environments like Chiang Mai (VanLandingham et al. 1998), the majority of men visit sex workers as part of a homosocial group (VanLandingham et al. 1998; Knodel et al. 1996; VanLandingham and Knodel 2007). Commercial sex establishments often serve as homosocial spheres where power is performed by males for other males. Framing commercial sex establishments as a window into Thai gendered practices, this chapter demonstrates that Northern Thailand provides a case study of the complex perpetuation of gender inequality that is shaped by workplace homosociality among men who purchase commercial sex. In order to exemplify the structured inequalities produced by homosocial habits, this chapter will first provide a theoretical discussion of gender performativity and its effects on homosocial work culture. Then, after offering a methodological overview, this project will review the connections between homosociality and commercial sex establishments in Northern Thailand. Next, this chapter will show that patterns of homosocial bonding in Thailand reflect greater global trends. Finally, this chapter discusses the effects of homosociality on men and women in the workplace, evincing that women have difficulties accessing some networking and career building activities as a direct result of male homosocial bonding activities.

Gender Performativity and Homosocial Work Culture

Gender as a category is not biological but rather is a social construction (West and Zimmerman 1987; Butler 1990; Connell 1995; Vigoya 2003). Gender is socially constructed through everyday interactions, discourses and institutions (Harvey et al. 2013; Butler 1993; Edley and Wetherell 1995; Kimmel 2004). As such, the masculine and feminine are accomplishments rather than biological dispositions (Butler 1995, 168). The enactment of social constructions of gender can be described as a performance, and performance choices are often based on dominant social norms surrounding gender. Butler (1990, 17) explains that "performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body, understood, in part, as a culturally sustained temporal duration". Gender is thus more learned than biological, and men often learn how to perform and negotiate masculinities within homosocial settings. Homosociality is most broadly defined as same-sex peer group relationships of a non-sexual nature. Most researchers agree that men do not receive a lifetime membership in homosocial circles (Kiesling 2005; Kitiarsa 2013). Rather, men are beseeched to prove themselves by performing masculinity. In choosing how to perform masculinities for homosocial groups, men de-construct and re-construct diverse masculinities.

Importantly, homosociality does not inevitably perpetuate patriarchy. While many homosocial circles function as spaces where power inequalities are maintained in order to allow for men to perform masculinity, there are examples where male homosocial relationships can build "intimacy, gender equality, and non-homophobia" (Hammarén and Johansson 2014, 6). For instance, homosociality can serve as an important social support group for men. Flood et al. (2007, 426) state, "Men may bond as friends, comrades, family members or lovers in ways that do not subordinate women or other men. Indeed, intimate friendships between men are valuable correctives to men's emotional stoicism and reliance on women's emotional labour". In addition, homosocial groups often provide access to resources (Bailey 1998, 109). Conceptually, homosocial spaces provide opportunities for re-envisioning hegemonic performances of masculinity to more positive forms that do not subordinate women, yet they tend to instead perpetuate patriarchy. This research peels the layers of homosociality in an attempt to understand when and how bonding through commercial sex establishments perpetuates patriarchal and power-wielding forms of masculinities.

Methodology

Author and activist Alice Walker (1983, 49) states, "I believe the truth about any subject only comes when all sides of the story are put together, and all their different meanings make a new one. Each writer writes the missing parts of the other writer's story". This chapter aims to take the "truth" about workplace visits to commercial sex establishments in Thailand and contrast them to patterns in other parts of the world. Building on research conducted in a range of geographical areas, this paper exemplifies that globalised homosocial processes are capable of, and often do, create workplace barriers for women. This research took place in and around the city of Chiang Mai in Northern Thailand. As an emerging city with a population of approximately 130,000, Chiang Mai is advertised as the "cultural hub" of Thailand where many traditions remain intact, but the city is simultaneously experiencing the effects of Westernisation and modernisation. Consequently, Chiang Mai provides a unique case study of emerging gender performances. This chapter stems from one year of ethnographic experience from February 2016 to February 2017. Through contrasting secondary research reviewing men's homosocial bonding behaviours at commercial sex establishments and other masculinised spaces to data gathered from 60 formal interviews, dozens of informal interviews, and hundreds of hours of participant observations at commercial sex establishments, I argue that performances of masculinities in the globalised world often disempower women at the workplace.

Formal interviews were semi-structured and included questions on sexual habits, gender differences, and attitudes toward commercial sex and other non-marital sexual partners. Interviews ranged in length from 20 minutes to 90 minutes and primarily took place in Thai with a research assistant who also served as a Thai/English translator. There were two exceptions to this rule when English-speaking interviewees asked to conduct the interviews in English. Male and female interviewees had the option to choose a place to meet for the interview, and interviews were conducted in spaces that ensured the privacy and anonymity of the participant. Once transcripts were completed, they were entered into a software program for qualitative analysis. Findings were ascertained by building from "the 'bottom' up, using the participants' views to build broader themes and generate a theory interconnecting themes" (Creswell and Clark 2017, 23). In accordance with ethics regulations and best practices, all names have been changed in order to protect the identities of research participants.

Homosociality and Commercial Sex Establishments in Thailand

Research has estimated that up to 75 percent of Thai heterosexual men have visited sex workers (Shih 1994). The commercial sex industry in Thailand is frequented by Thai men of all ages, ethnic groups, and classes and is often utilised as a space where men negotiate masculine ideals. Arxer (2011) and Bird (1996) both state that homosocial settings such as commercial sex establishments encourage the formation and conservation of hegemonic masculinity, in part through the negation of alternative masculinities. The prominent use of commercial sex workers in Northern Thailand has been linked to homosociality and male bonding activities (VanLandingham et al. 1998; Fordham 1995). In homosocial settings in Northern Thailand, visits to commercial sex establishments stereotypically begin with male peer group gatherings. Not all male get-togethers lead to visiting commercial sex workers, especially in rural areas where fewer opportunities exist to access commercial sex, but throughout modern history male sexual lives have been shaped within peer group settings. VanLandingham et al. (1998, 2007) state:

> Since peer interactions generally and commercial sex visitation in particular, are scripted during adolescence in part as an escape from the mundaneness of everyday life, it is not surprising that many of the adult men in our study stressed the added significance that a commercial sex visit can contribute to an otherwise ordinary outing. This added significance seems to be particularly important to some married men as these peer group reunions become less frequent.

Some peer groups are more prone to commercial sex patronage than others, and while some groups of men may refuse to participate in visiting commercial sex establishments other groups visit regularly (VanLandingham et al. 1998, 2000). Some men choose to stop participating in commercial sex after marriage, while others do so frequently. The differences in behaviours do have some intersectional influences, although no research has explored intersectional factors such as class and ethnicity within Thailand in detail. Nonetheless, it has generally been accepted by both men and women that after marriage "men will engage in extra-marital sexual relationships, particularly with commercial sex workers" (Fongkaew 1997, 582).

The HIV epidemic in the 1990s, which was spread primarily through heterosexual commercial sex work, appears to have led to decreasing rates of purchasing sex and increasing acceptance of those who choose not to purchase sex. For instance, Narong is a 23-year-old male student at a technical college where most of his peers are also male. His first experience at a commercial sex

establishment was with a group of male peers. His older peers paid for him to sit and drink with a woman. He discussed purchasing sex with the woman and even negotiated the price, but Narong decided not to purchase sex because he was afraid of diseases. Himself and one other friend went home while the rest of his peers purchased sex. While Narong experienced autonomy in making choices around when and how to purchase sex, some men do not feel they have the same level of agency. For instance, VanLandingham et al. (1998, 2004) found one participant named Mr. D stated an invitation to purchase commercial sex cannot be easily declined, explaining that he would rather purchase sexual services than risk the punitive consequences. He states: "We have to say yes. It is hard to say no so we simply go with them. We may take a girl into a room and just talk with her. We do it to maintain good will within the group."

The popularity of commercial sex establishments endures because performing masculinities at commercial sex establishments enables men to perform power and differentiate their masculinity to that of other men. Hoang (2015, 15) states in relation to Vietnam that, "[m]en's desire for dominance over other men is enacted through the consumption of distinct types of sex workers in different spaces. For male clients, commercial sex workers are products to be consumed in ways that enable them to enact distinction". The existence of numerous types of brothels, massage parlours and karaoke bars for various types of men, primarily based on class and ethnicity, allows men to enact distinct and diverse performances of masculinity. For instance, there is a line of karaoke bars in one area of the city targeting Shan migrants from Myanmar. The karaoke bars have Shan names, and men who enter can sing Shan music. Thai songs are also offered, so a variety of lower-class and middle-class Thai men visit the establishment regularly. Men may also choose to go to a nearby brothel that serves low-income men and where one hour of sexual services costs between 300 and 500 Thai baht, which is the cost of 5 to 8 meals at inexpensive restaurants. In contrast, men who visit the local massage parlor can expect to pay 1,000 to 1,800 Thai baht plus a tip, which is the equivalent of a monthly heating bill in an apartment or approximately 5 to 10 percent of the average monthly salary. Men with less money or who come from different ethnic backgrounds have the opportunity in Thai culture to perform masculinity through purchasing sex, but they only have access to limited places and have less control over the experience than men with more money. For instance, Ai-dtim is an employee at a karaoke bar that primarily serves groups of male businessmen. According to Ai-dtim, regulars to the establishment include businessmen from Bangkok as well as employees from nearby government offices. Ai-dtim says, "A lot of Thai businessmen who come [. . .] don't have a spending limit. Some individuals might spend 10,000 baht ($445) in a night and then come back the next night and spend the same amount. They

spend money like it is nothing. Some groups rent out 10 or 20 women when they come". For the men who visit the karaoke bar where Ai-dtim works, the commercial sex establishment is an extension of the office. A middle-aged businessman named Somchai exemplifies this. Through visiting masculinised spaces such as commercial sex establishments, Somchai performs a hetero-hegemonic form of masculinity for other men. Men who are able to perform hegemonic masculinities hold power (Kimmel 2000), and for Somchai power is performative. For instance, Somchai has a standard tipping routine he undertakes in addition to regular costs. For *Dek Sideline* (young) girls, or young women who are normally college students who sell sexual services part-time, Somchai gives a 500-baht tip (or $22) in addition to the purchase price of 2,000 baht ($88). For other women whose services cost 1,200 ($53) or 1,500 ($66) baht, he offers a 200-baht ($9) tip. In addition, he tips the chairman (a male employee similar to a manager) 200 baht on each visit. "I am treated so well here because I always tip", he explains. "My drink is always full, and I am treated better than other regulars because money makes a difference". For Somchai, visiting the commercial sex establishment allows him to express and negotiate power inequalities through his financial success. According to Hoang (2015, 75), when discussing the context of Vietnam, bars are "central to the (re)production of masculinities in a dynamic global context". In complex globalised environments that push men to interweave social traditions global conceptions of masculinity, commercial sex establishments serve as spaces where men can "prove" their manhood through a controlled performance.

A Reflection of Greater Trends? Global Patterns of Homosocial Bonding through Gendered Objectification

On 23 January 2018, 360 men gathered in the ballroom of one of London's five-star luxury hotels for a black-tie charity fundraiser. Chef Gino D'Acampo, comedian David Walliams, and former rugby player Liam Botham joined the likes of power-wielding professionals such as Vice-chairman of investment banking at Barclays Makram Azar, hotel chain billionaire Rashid Al Habtoor, and retail billionaire Sir Philip Green (*The Guardian* 2018). The dinner was an annual even held by the President's Club, which has raised £20 million for charity over 33 years (*BBC* 2018). None of the 360 male attendees brought their female partners, and no female leaders in British business, politics, and finance were invited to join the men for the charitable dinner. Instead, the only women in attendance

were 130 hired hostesses. One woman hired to help at the event was journalist Madison Marriage (2018). She describes the scene:

> All of the women were told to wear skimpy black outfits with matching underwear and high heels. At an after-party many hostesses – some of them students earning extra cash – were groped, sexually harassed and propositioned [. . .]. Many of the hostesses were subjected to groping, lewd comments and requests to join diners in bedrooms elsewhere in the Dorchester [. . .]. Hostesses reported men repeatedly putting hands up their skirts; one said an attendee had exposed his penis to her during the evening.

The event blended professional networking and charitable fundraising with homosocial bonding through the objectification of women. The auction, which ended with a £400,000 bid by Richard Caring to place his name on a new unit at a children's hospital, also included bidding opportunities for a night at the Windmill strip club or a chance to "add spice to your wife" with plastic surgery (Marriage 2018). The event was not just a masculinised space where women were objectified; it was also a space where men networked professionally and acquired career-building opportunities that working women in the business sector were unable to access.

This President's Club fundraiser exemplifies the building of a masculinised space where women as sexual objects serve as tools for male homosocial bonding. Trends toward homosocial bonding through workplace visits to commercial sex establishments, strip clubs, or other similar settings have been noted across many cultures. In 2015 Hoang found that men in Vietnam, both local men and members of the diaspora, utilise commercial sex establishments and the consumption of different types of sex work as a means to negotiate and enact their desire for dominance over other men (2015, 15). According to Hoang (2014, 527), "[m]en are purchasing status and dignity, and working to protect their precarious positions in the global order". Spaces where men purchase sex and consequently reproduce and negotiate performances of masculinities are central to the production and reproduction of masculinities in a global context (2015, 75). Throughout Asia, commercial sex work has been called the sexual custom of Asian men (Matsui and Toyokawa 1996, 35). USAID (2007) found that in Cambodia between 59 and 80 percent of men surveyed reported having sex with commercial sex workers, primarily in brothels. In contrast, one survey found that approximately 37 percent of men in Japan have visited commercial sex establishments at some point in their lives (Anderson and O'Connell Davidson 2003). According to a male Vietnamese participant of Hoang (2015, 57), Westerners do not do business in sex establishments such as karaoke bars because "they call it corruption; we call it building trust". However, research is revealing that many men in the West are partaking in homosocial bonding through visits to establishments that frame

women as sexual objects, although visits to commercial sex establishments are neither normalised nor legalised in many settings; rather, strip clubs and escort services are often utilised by members of businesses for the purpose of networking and entertaining (Jeffreys 2010). For instance, with perhaps as many as 80 percent of male city finance workers in London visiting strip clubs as part of their work, "women in the world of business [. . .] are confronting a new glass ceiling created by their male colleagues' use of strip clubs", (Fine 2010, 72; Jeffreys 2008). Fine (2010, 71–72) notes that it is becoming increasingly common for clients to be entertained at entertainment venues. She explains that 41 percent of the UK's lap-dancing clubs promote corporate entertainment on their websites, while 86 percent of London clubs offer discreet receipts that let male attendees claim the bill as a company expense. All these examples indicate that amidst a globalising world male homosocial visits to commercial sex establishments, or similar venues that allow for the permissive objectification of women and deter women's entry into homosocial workplace bonding activities, are important aspects of performing masculinities in some cultures and are gaining popularity in others.

Effects of Homosociality on Men and Women in the Workplace

The effects of homosociality on men and women in the workplace are evident in Thailand. As of 2017, women comprise 45.67 percent of the workforce in Thailand (World Bank 2019). According to the World Bank, 65 percent of low-income women, 46 percent of middle-income women, and 52 percent of high-income women worked in 2017. However, although a significant portion of the female population is working in Thailand, there is still gender differentiation in the types of jobs men and women are hired for. Interviewees, male interviewees in particular, state that men could work "outside" jobs that are not suitable for women. Other participants, both men and women, believe that men and women could work together but men following the leadership of a women boss is often considered inappropriate or uncomfortable. For instance, according to 22-year-old male psychology student Asnee, whose father works as an engineer, "[t]he subordinates don't listen to the female engineer, even if she is a leader; they listen to the male engineer". Participants expressed that women in positions of power experience difficulty leading men. Interviews stated that commonly both men and women would respect a woman less than a man in the same position. In addition, some research has found that women tend to earn less than men.

Hansatit (2014, 151) says, "[s]ince female executives earn less than their male counterparts, they feel subjected to discrimination in comparison with men having similar qualifications or skills". In contrast, Bui and Permpoonwiwat (2015, 19) found that in general gender wage gap in Thailand has narrowed down over the last decades from 14 percent in 1996 to 10 percent in 2006 and then 1 percent in 2013. Despite this seemingly forward movement toward gender equality, Bui and Permpoonwiwat (2015, 19) explain that these trends have occurred amidst an increase in gender discrimination. For instance, while improvements in women's education and skill levels have raised their wages, nonetheless "those efforts were eliminated by discrimination". Regardless of efforts to empower women, a diverse range of interviewees who are women still emphasise that they experience negative repercussions of homosociality in their careers and private lives.

Some of the negative repercussions that women experience in the workplace are part and parcel of men's discourses in homosocial settings that tolerate and even encourage the permissive objectification of women. Permissive objectification can be defined as the process where humans view other humans as physical objects. Briñol et al. (2017, 1) explain, "[w]hen we focus on the physical aspects of a person (e.g. external appearance), we are less likely to focus on more internal, psychological states". Built on this foundational definition of objectification, permissive objectification is thus where men's choice to objectify women in homosocial settings gives permission to other men to objectify women both within and outside of homosocial settings. This pattern of permissive sexual objectification among men starts in homosocial groups at a young age and tends to linger with men throughout their lives. According to Kimmel (2000, 57), not only do men turn women into sex objects, but the exchange of women as wives is often used to cement alliances among men. While not all men will participate in objectifying women all the time, this permissive objectification allows men to objectify women for the purposes of performing masculinities in homosocial settings. Male interviewees state that in addition to objectifying women when seeking casual sexual partners, they also bond within their male peer groups through talking about women and judging women as physical objects. Men in Thailand also bond by following a code that allows them as men to have sex with numerous partners but assesses women negatively for doing the same. For instance, among one homosocial group, men took pride in having sex with multiple women but simultaneously looked for women who had not lost their "purity" to other members of the group. Ritthirong, a civil servant in his mid-twenties, says: "Yes, men like to hunt the score and tell experiences with friends about getting girls. If I have sex with a girl, I'll tell my friend and he won't have sex with her but he will find other girls. She is used; the men want dignity. It is about men's dignity". Sexual satisfaction comes second to the need to perform masculinities according to the norms of his

homosocial group. For Ritthirong and his peers, women's bodies are objectified as sexual objects before sex and dirty, undignified objects after sex. It is important to note that male peer groups do not only allow the permissive objectification of women within that homosocial circle; rather, permissive objectification in homosocial peer groups leads to the objectification of women in outside spaces including the workplace because the practice becomes normalised.

Homosocial peer groups often generate power-wielding homosocial assemblies in workplace environments. These assemblies privilege male members while disempowering women and men who are not members in the group. Fine (2010, 70), in discussing women's success in the Western corporate world, holds homosocial masculinised spaces responsible for excluding women from essential business negotiations. She argues:

> Unfortunately, the problem for women of being excluded does not end when they leave the office. Depressingly, it is still the case that in many industries it gets worse. At first glance, a round of golf and a trip to the local lap-dancing club may seem to have little in common. They are both leisure activities, it's true, but one is conservative, traditional, and may even entail the wearing of Argyle socks, while the other involves naked women rubbing their genitalia against the fly region of a man's pants. What they share, however, is an environment that provides ample scope for excluding women from valuable client networking opportunities.

Fine problematises workplace homosocial behaviour in all its masculine locations because it excludes women. Women lose valuable opportunities to build trust with co-workers and clients and are simultaneously forced to distance themselves from feminine gender performances that match those of women who have been sexually objectified by men during workplace bonding activities. Perhaps for this reason, women who vie with men for positions of power in the west tend to "put on a compensatory manhood act" (Schrock and Schwalbe 2009), although in Thailand, little research has explored how women negotiate with homosocial masculine powers in the workplace. Women play an important, albeit sexualised, role in allowing men to perform masculinities in masculinised spaces – but it is a controlled role demarcated by men's narratives of women as sexual objects. In some commercial sex establishments in Thailand, for instance, signs at the entrance of establishments explicitly state that Thai women are not allowed inside as customers. This both reinforces men's ability to perform masculinities in homosocial settings through the permissive objectification of women and limits women's workplace opportunities because women are unable to build trust with co-workers and clients in the traditional setting.

Patterns of homosocial bonding in commercial sex establishments greatly affect women's access to professional networks and career opportunities. In Chiang Mai, women challenge enactments of hegemonic masculinities by entering masculinised workspaces. Despite the limitations that women face, women's access to masculinised workspaces has forced more men to work with women, especially female leaders. Some men are obligated to work alongside women or under women, which is nuancing gender roles and simultaneously creating more fluid gender structures. Informants discussed a variety of situations that they face when men and women work and go to school together. Females in dominantly male university programs discussed poor treatment from men, which hindered them from becoming part of a homosocial group; Chailai, for instance, discussed being bullied by the men in her department. "I don't have a problem with the men in the program, but they like to tease me because I'm small and they like to make me cry. But it makes me strong". Chailai is one of two women in an otherwise all-male department and is not invited to attend after-hours bonding events. Men often combat change by instilling punitive consequences on women who enter into their space. This is exemplified by the men in Chailai's department who treat Chailai like an outsider. While there are struggles that occur when women enter traditionally male spaces, breaking into institutional masculinised spaces has the potential to hinder men's ability to build homosocial circles that exclude women. These patterns of homosocial bonding, and their effects of inhibiting women from professional networking and career-building opportunities, could potentially be challenged by groups of men who visit alongside peers who are women as has been documented in some research in other Asian settings (Hoang 2015), but such situations are uncommon and were unseen in the hundreds of hours of participant observations completed for this project.

While gender inequalities that oppress women are prominent, gender inequality should also be used to refer to the social inequality and punitive consequences faced by men who are unable to perform masculinity in hegemonic ways. Men experience great pressure to perform masculinity and can be reluctant to contradict other men in homosocial settings – especially because men who cannot or do not perform in homosocial settings tend to face punitive consequences. In Thailand, these consequences can be minimal, such as teasing or loss of friendships, or they can be serious, such as diminished access to jobs. VanLandingham et al. (1998) found that some men expressed a great reluctance to dispute other men, including but not limited to situations where friends purchase sexual services for other friends and in situations where men conduct business together. In settings where men conduct business together, men may

provide or expect commercial sex visits as part of the negotiation process (VanLandingham et al. 1998, 2003). Men also are pressured by women to perform in homosocial ways and face losing access to potential sexual partners if they are unable to perform a hegemonic masculinity. Men experience social pressure to perform according to the desires of those around them in homosocial groups, but the institutionalisation of these desires has obstructed men's performances of non-hegemonic masculinities. Men who perform subaltern masculinities tend to have peer groups that permit the performances of non-hegemonic masculinities – as can be seen with Narong, whose friends pressure him to purchase sex but allow group members the freedom to not purchase sex and remain part of the male peer group. In contrast, when homosocial groups become institutionalised, both the desire to enter these groups and the punitive consequences men might face for not performing masculinities in accordance with social norms tend to be greater.

Homosocial visits to commercial sex establishments are still common in Northern Thailand, although according to interviewees the level of peer pressure to visit sex establishments has diminished from previous generations as a result of the HIV/AIDS scare that impacted the country in the 1990s. For instance, A-wut says the sex industry is not inherently bad, but he still will not purchase sex. He explains:

> It is one kind of a job. It is not terrible if [commercial sex workers] don't infect men with HIV. If they have HIV, I will not buy their service. If I don't know if she has HIV, it is bad luck [to buy her].
>
> *Cassie : So how do you check if someone has HIV?*
>
> I don't know.
>
> *Cassie : Is that why you have never gone?*
>
> Yes.

The popularity of visiting commercial sex establishments has also been reduced because many young people, both men and women, now visit whisky shops for entertainment and to find casual sex opportunities. While women are likely to visit whisky bars with groups of male and female friends, whisky bars still replicate many aspects of commercial sex establishments for homosocial groups of men. For example, Narong tends to go to the whisky shop to drink beer and whisky with friends, where some of his male peers negotiate (sometimes paid) casual sex with waitresses and female customers. At the whisky shop, the waitress sometimes asks Narong and his friends to have sex with her in exchange for money. Narong's friends sometimes purchase sex and sometimes pay waitresses at whisky bars for

sex, but Narong never has. Narong attributes his decision not to engage in commercial sex work to fear of diseases, a desire not to spend money, and fear of facing repercussions from his girlfriend. Narong's friends sometimes tease him or try to convince him to purchase sex, but Narong can maintain his friendship with his friendship circle without participating in the group-bonding activity of purchasing sex. Narong's experience in a homosocial group exemplifies that while masculine ideals are known and recognised by male interviewees, the enactment of these masculine ideals vary drastically. This fluidity that Narong and many of the other men negotiate in their chosen performances of masculinities, when permitted in homosocial settings, allows for a wider range of performances of masculinity and less "corrective behaviour" (Plester 2015) for those who perform masculinity in a non-hegemonic manner.

Conclusion

When Songkarn and Sud take their seats next to me in the brothel, I ask them which women they are interested in. Songkarn looks at the line of women staring intently at him and tells me he wants all of them. His drunk friend, in contrast, grabs my hand and rubs my leg. Sud tells me I should be his girlfriend and drunkenly attempts to woo me. This is a masculinised space, and as a woman who dared entering such a space I am commodified and objectified. For Songkarn and Sud, my presence is permission enough to be objectified. Permissive objectification, where men essentialise the objectification of women's bodies as a biological trait of manhood, may seem harmless when performed amongst homosocial circles in commercial sex establishments. However, the impacts of permissive objectification are much greater and more complex. While it is not inevitably the case, homosocial groups of men tend to "other" women; often this leads to the permissive objectification of women and, consequentially, the social and structural oppression of women in many contexts.

Some forms of performing masculinity in homosocial settings are harmful to both women and men. The men best able to perform masculinity in accordance to the explicit or implicit structures of their homosocial circles tend to be the winners, while the male losers experience oppression in different forms. Through providing a case study of masculinities in Northern Thailand, this chapter asserts that homosocial groups are spaces where men prove and perform their masculinity and where masculine norms can be created, re-created and challenged. More information is needed to identify how widespread visiting commercial sex workers as part of homosocial work culture has become in

many social and cultural contexts, but what is undeniable is that homosocial work culture, when combined with visits to commercial sex establishments or other spaces where women are sexually objectified, can negatively affect both men and women by preventing them from accessing networking and career building opportunities.

There has been limited discourse pertaining to homosociality's effects on shifting gender roles, especially within institutions. Gender politics are complex and ever-changing in a globalised world, but the lack of discourse surrounding homosociality's negative effects socially and within institutions allows for its continued existence. Homosociality in Chiang Mai has been renegotiated many times over the past 20 years amid rapid growth and incorporation of international influences, yet it is still embedded in many institutions, including legal and academic institutions. Tied with gender norms that define men as leaders, homosociality has diminished the decision-making opportunities available for women. These structures are structurally and legally supported, but more so they are socially supported by the thoughts and actions of Thai men and women. Enloe (2017) reminds us that tools that sustain patriarchy are not just structural or legal in nature; they also appear in the forms of casual essentialisms, parochial analogies, ill-informed guesses, misogynist fears, and dismissive jokes. Challenges to normative performances of masculinities are discouraged within homosocial circles, and this is perhaps the greatest reason why homosociality plays a role in gender equality. Through identifying homosocial circles that perpetuate or re-negotiate gender inequality, noxious ideals of masculinity that diminish career-building opportunities for women can be confronted.

References

Anderson, Bridget, and Julia O'Connell Davidson. 2003. *Is Trafficking in Human Beings Demand Driven?: A Multi-country PilotSstudy*. IOM, International Organization for Migration.

Arxer, Steven L. 2011. "Hybrid Masculine Power: Reconceptualizing the Relationship between Homosociality and Hegemonic Masculinity." *Humanity & Society* 35(4): 390–422.

Bailey, Alison. 1998. "Privilege: Expanding on Marilyn Frye's' Oppression." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 29(3): 104–119.

BBC News. 2018. "Presidents Club: Scandal-hit charity dinner organiser quits post." January 25.

Bird, Sharon R. 1996. "Welcome to the men's club: Homosociality and the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity." *Gender & society* 10(2): 120–132.

Briñol, Pablo, Richard E. Petty, and Jennifer Belding. 2017. Objectification of people and thoughts: An attitude change perspective. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 56(2): 233–249.

Bui, Minh-Tam Thi, and Chompoonuh Kosalakorn Permpoonwiwat. 2015. "Gender Wage Inequality in Thailand: A Sectoral Perspective." *The Journal of Behavioral Science* 10(2): 19–36.

Butler, Judith. 1990. "Gender trouble, feminist theory, and psychoanalytic discourse." *Feminism/postmodernism* 327: x.

Butler, Judith. 1993. "Critically Queer." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 1(1): 17–32.

Butler, Judith. 1995. "Melancholy Gender – Refused Identification." *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 5(2): 165–180.

Connell, Raewyn. 1995. *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Creswell, John W., and Vicki L. Plano Clark. 2017. *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Edley, Nigel, and Margaret Wetherell. 1995. *Men in Perspective*. Pearson Education Limited.

Enloe, Cynthia. 2017. *The Big Push: Exposing and Challenging the Persistence of Patriarchy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fine, Cordelia. 2010. *Delusions of Gender: How our Minds, Society, and Neurosexism Create Difference*. New York: Norton.

Flood, Michael, Judith Kegan Gardiner, Bob Pease, and Keith Pringle. 2007. *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*. London: Routledge.

Fongkaew, Warunee. 1997. "Sexuality, and gender norms among Thai teenagers: problems and solutions." *Community-based programs for adolescent sexual health and domestic violence against women*. Nakhon Pathom: Center for Health Policy Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Mahidol University.

Fordham, Graham. 1995. "Whisky, Women and Song: Men, Alcohol and AIDS in Northern Thailand." *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 6(1-2): 154–177.

The Guardian. 2018. "Presidents Club: who was invited to the all-male charity gala?" January 25.

Hammarén, Nils, and Thomas Johansson. 2014. "Homosociality: In between power and intimacy." *Sage Open* 4(1): 2158244013518057.

Hansatit, Patcharin. 2014. "A study on gender inequality in Thailand: career experience of Thai female managers." Phd Diss., Southern Cross University, Lismore, Australia.

Hoang, Kimberly Kay. 2014. "Flirting with Capital: Negotiating Perceptions of Pan-Asian Ascendency and Western Decline in Global Sex Work." *Social Problems* 61(4): 507–529.

Harvey, Laura, Jessica Ringrose, and Rosalind Gill. 2013. "Swagger, Ratings and Masculinity: Theorising the Circulation of Social and Cultural Value in Teenage Boys' Digital Peer Networks." *Sociological Research Online* 18(4): 1–11.

Hoang, Kimberly Kay. 2015. *Dealing in Desire: Asian Ascendancy, Western Decline, and the Hidden Currencies of Global Sex Work*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jeffreys, Sheila. 2010. "The sex industry and business practice: An obstacle to women's equality." *Women's Studies International Forum* 33(3): 274–282.

Kiesling, Scott Fabius. 2005. "Homosocial desire in men's talk: Balancing and re-creating cultural discourses of masculinity." *Language in Society* 34(5): 695–726.

Kimmel, Michael. 2000. *The Gendered Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kimmel, Michael. 2004. "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity." *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study* 81: 93.

Kitiarsa, Pattana. 2013. "Of Men and Monks: The Boxing-Buddhism Nexus and the Production of National Manhood in Contemporary Thailand." *New Mandala Blog* 2.

Knodel, John, Mark VanLandingham, Chanpen Saengtienchai, and Anthony Pramualratana. 1996. “Thai views of sexuality and sexual behaviour.” *Health Transition Review* 6(2): 179–201.

Lyttleton, Chris. 2000. *Endangered Relations*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Marriage, Madison. 2018. “Men Only: Inside the charity fundraiser where hostesses are put on show.” Financial Times, January 24. Accessed March 10, 2019.

Matsui, Yaori, and Noriko Toyokawa. 1999. *Women in the New Asia: From Pain to Power*. ZED books.

Plester, Barbara. 2015. “‘Take it like a man!’: Performing hegemonic masculinity through organizational humour.” *Ephemera* 15(3): 537–559.

Schrock, Douglas, and Michael Schwalbe. 2009. “Men, Masculinity, and Manhood Acts.” *Annual review of sociology* 35: 277–295.

Shih, J. 1994. “A plague in prostitution: HIV and AIDS in Thailand.” *Rhode Island Medicine* 77 (5): 145–149.

USAID, “Cambodia HIV/AIDS Technical Support: Technical Assistance and Support Contract 3 (TASC3) Indefinite Quantity Contract Section A – Request for Task Order Proposal (RFTOP).” Accessed March 10, 2007. www.usaid.gov.

VanLandingham, Mark, John Knodel, Chanpen Saengtienchai, and Anthony Pramualratana. 1998. “In the company of friends: peer influence on Thai male extramarital sex.” *Social Science & Medicine* 47(12): 1993–2011.

VanLandingham, Mark, and John Knodel. 2007. “Sex and the Single (Older) Guy: Sexual Lives of Older Unmarried Thai Men During the AIDS Era.” *Journal of Cross-cultural Gerontology* 22(4): 375–388.

Vigoya, Mará Viveros. 2003. “Orientaciones íntimas en las primeras experiencias sexuales y amorosas de los jóvenes. Reflexiones a partir de algunos estudios de casos colombianos.” *Varones adolescentes: género, identidades y sexualidades en América Latina*: 115.

Walker, Alice. 1983. “Beauty: When the other dancer is the self.” In *In Search of Our Mothers’ Gardens: Womanist Prose*. Michigan: Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich.

West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. “Doing gender.” *Gender & society* 1(2): 125–151.

World Bank. “Labor Force Participation Rate, female.” Accessed 3 March, 2019. Retrieved from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FE.ZS

World Bank. “Proportion of seats held by women in National Parliament (%).” Accessed 23 January, 2019. Retrieved from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS

IV Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives on Men, Masculinities, and Career(s)

Tristan Bridges, Catherine J. Taylor, Sekani Robinson

10 Connections between Masculinity, Work, and Career Reproduce Gender Inequality

Abstract: Gender has been meaningfully tied to relations of production throughout history and across cultural contexts. What this exactly looks like and how it shapes the lived realities of people across time and place, however, has also been and will continue to be subject to great change. This chapter examines four contemporary dimensions of the relationship between masculinity, work, and career as well as how this relationship is connected with systems of gender inequality. We summarise scholarship on (1) the persistence of occupational sex segregation, (2) the effects of the "breadwinner" ideal, (3) the cultural devaluation of femininity, and (4) emergent scholarship on "masculinity contest cultures" at work. Here, we argue that it is through the interconnections between these dimensions that the relationship between masculinity, work, and career contributes to the durability of gender inequality.

Introduction

In 1958, the sociologist Everett C. Hughes published *Men and Their Work* – a collection of essays and papers examining the gendered division of labour, centering on the experiences of men. In the preface, he justified the project by writing, "A man's work is as good a clue as any to the course of his life and to his social being and identity" (1958, 7). He goes on to suggest that the very "ordering of society" is centrally connected to "man's relation to the world of work" (1958, 11). Hughes is correct that masculinity is integrally intertwined with work and career. But he does not address the ways that this relationship is a powerful mechanism through which gender inequalities are preserved and reproduced over time. This is our goal in this chapter.

One of the principle ways gender is reproduced as a meaningful concept in social life is through the organisation of labour around gender. Women and men, as groups, perform different types of labour in virtually every society. This socials organisation is a central element of the structure and reproduction of relations of gender difference (Rhode 1997; West and Fenstermaker 1995). That is, the relationship between masculinity, work, and career is a primary

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-011

mechanism through which understandings of – and ideological commitments to – gender difference are formed and sustained.

Scholars interested in examining this relationship in more recent history might also note the prevalence of women in many occupational domains formerly defined, in part, by women's exclusion. And yet, even under such circumstances of progression towards gender equality, the division of labour is capable of retaining gendered meanings and consequences that offer powerful illustrations of the durability and elasticity of gender inequality (Bridges and Pascoe 2018; Ridgeway 2011).

In this chapter, first we summarise some of the feminist sociological theory assessing the relationship between gender, work and career and how this relationship gives rise to inequality. Subsequently, we highlight feminist and social scientific research that illustrates the relationship between masculinity, work, and career. We address four interrelated issues that shape the relationship between masculinity, work, and career, and how this relationship is integral to understanding gender inequality. We address research on: (1) workplace and occupational gender segregation, (2) the origin and persistence of the "breadwinner" model of masculinity, (3) the social and cultural devaluation of femininity, and (4) the organisational structure of "masculinity contest cultures" at work and how they perpetuate inequality. Dividing our analysis between these components of the relationship connecting masculinity, work, and career allows for an understanding of both continuity and change in inequality. In the conclusion, we discuss ways that these components overlap and intersect to cause the relationships between masculinity, work, and career to be durable and to reproduce inequality even as they have transformed over time.

Theorising the Relationship between Masculinity, Work, and Career

The relationship between gender and the division of labour was among the first structures of gender relations to be recognised in the social sciences (Connell 2002, 2004) and in many disciplines, the gendered division of labour remains central to discussion of gender inequality (e.g. history, economics, anthropology). In most societies, most of the time and across social contexts, some work has been performed principally by women and other work has been performed principally by men (Connell 1987, 2002; Geist and Cohen 2011). However, it is not the case that all societies have defined the *same* work as men's work or women's work. Specific tasks and labour practices might be understood as

masculine in some societies, social contexts, or periods of history and feminine in others. As such, it is the gendered division of labour itself that is nearly universal, not the actual ways labour is divided (Mitchell 1974; Rubin 1975; Blumberg 1978, 1984; Hartmann 1979; Connell 1987; Hearn 1987; Acker 1989, 1990; Walby 1990; Reskin 1993).

Capitalism and industrialisation created a specific instantiation of this process by introducing the idea of "separate spheres": "the doctrine that men and women have innately different natures and occupy separate spheres of life" (Coontz 2005, 176). The industrial revolution and the economic system of capitalism were key historical moments in establishing paid work as masculine and casting unpaid labour in the home as feminine and as offering what historian Christopher Lasch (1977) referred to as a "haven in a heartless world".[1] Indeed, Holter (2005) suggests that the separation of women's and men's "spheres" of life is among the most important factors in shaping the structure of gender relations in contemporary Western societies. As Holter (2005), Coontz (1992, 2005) and Cowan (1983) all argue, the structural segregation of paid work as masculine and unpaid labour practiced in the home as feminine shapes radically different experiences, opportunities, and constraints of women and men. This structural segregation also shapes our notions of what are thought to be the different natures of women and men.

A telling example is offered by Ruth Schwartz Cowan's (1983) historical analysis of the emergence of household technology at the turn of the 20th century in the United States. This emergence appeared alongside men's exodus from American households to newly emerging opportunities for paid work outside of the home. And, opportunities for career simultaneously pulled men out of their homes while pushing women back in. Prior to this transformation, both women and men (as well as children) were all responsible for the various types of labour that went into managing a pre-industrial household. With the advent of industrialisation, however, middle-class men were expected to work outside the home and middle-class women were compelled to care for the home alone

1 Importantly, more recent scholarship challenges the historical emergence of separate spheres. While this has become a historical narrative structuring a great deal of scholarship, we also know that it is largely a middle-class narrative as working-class women and children also joined men in working outside the home. Indeed, Vickery (1993) argues that the "separation of spheres" discourse regarding industrialisation and shifts in gender relations relates explicitly to the middle-class. And while Vickery (2009) challenges the extent to which women's lives were "domesticated" during this period, Tosh (2007) challenges claims that men's lives were not uncovering the many contradictions structuring hetero-romantic gender relations leading up to and following industrialisation.

and in historically new ways. New household technologies were also invented and introduced into American homes over the first half of the twentieth century – everything from cabinets, to vacuum cleaners, to microwaves, to refrigerators, and more. All of these varying devices were marketed as "labour-saving" tools for saving time. Cowan shows, however, that they simultaneously ushered in new sets of demands and standards of cleanliness at precisely the historical moment when fewer people than ever before were responsible for the management of the home. Thus, these technological "advances", according to Cowan (1983), had the ironic effect of producing "more work for mother".

Women's unpaid labour during historical transformations like these was not incidental to these gendered historical shifts; their labour actually made these shifts possible. The separation of spheres became necessary as capitalist enterprises sought to squeeze every ounce of labour they could out of paid employees – a task made more possible by the unpaid labour of women managing "havens" in the newly minted "heartless world." And yet, this is a very middle- and upper-class narrative about this transformation as, for everyone else, the world remained as "heartless" as it ever was. Thus, these discourses of gendered responsibility were also classed from the very start, helping to usher in emergent gendered forms of class distinction.

One of the chief accomplishments of research and theory on work and gender has been to empirically and theoretically demonstrate the ways that careers and work shape social behaviours, roles, and identities that came to be recognised as gendered. Structures do not arise, in other words, from innate differences between men and women. Rather, the presumption that such differences exist in the first place arises, in part, out of gendered social structures. That is, this work articulated a feminist social theory that connected the gendered structure of societies with gendered personalities and behaviours. The notion that women and men are "naturally suited" to different sorts of work is, then, a *social* accomplishment arising from a gendered division of labour (Goffman 1977; Connell 1987; West and Zimmerman 1987; Holter 2005; Acker 1990, 2006; Rhode 1997; Risman 1998). Understanding the theory and history that addresses the connections between the gendered division of labour and gender inequality is necessary to explore the relationship between masculinity, work, and career, as we do next.

Components of the Relationship between Masculinity, Work, and Career

Women's participation in the paid labour force in societies around the world increased steadily over the course of the second half of the twentieth century. Consider the United States. In 1950, slightly more than one third of US women were working in the paid labour force; but in 2018, three quarters of women in the US were (see Figure 1). Indeed, dramatic shifts like this were mirrored in many countries around the world (Charles, and Grusky 2004).

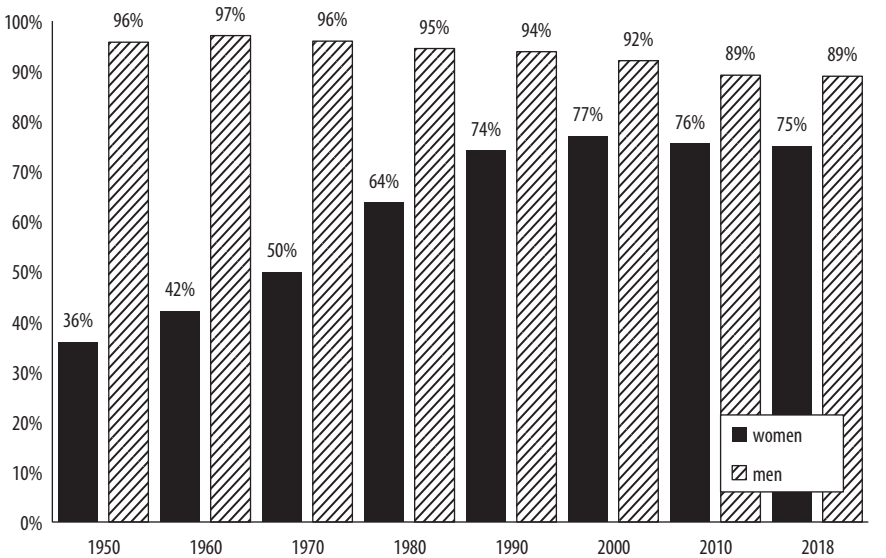

Figure 1: Men's and Women's Labor Force Participation in the United States, 25–54 years old: 1950–2018.
Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey.

Progress toward equal proportions of women and men in the labour force stalled in the US and many other nations around the world around the 1990s. Nevertheless, rates of participation have increased substantially, and all this over a brief portion of history. And yet, gender inequality at work has endured, and this is in no small part due to the enduring relationship between masculinity, work, and career.

Tracing how this relationship endures alongside the dramatic shifts in women's relative participation in the paid labour force requires understanding four intersecting issues. (1) Despite this shift, sex segregation still structures modern workplaces and careers. (2) Though the "breadwinner ideal"[2] is not attainable for all but a very small number of households, it continues to exert powerful pressure in the cultural imaginary. (3) Femininity is devalued socially and culturally, and this is expressed in work and careers. And (4) masculinity contest cultures shape workplaces in ways that perpetuate inequality in modern work and careers. All four of these issues are intertwined with the power of masculinity to shape gendered outcomes – especially as they relate to work, occupations, and careers. In the following sections, we summarise and explain each of these interrelated issues that operate to reinforce the historically emergent relationship between masculinity and work.

Sex Segregation of Work and Occupations

Although women's paid labour force participation has increased dramatically over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, our ideas about what type of work is appropriate for men versus women are remain gendered. One way this is especially visible is that occupations are highly sex segregated worldwide (Charles and Grusky 2004). That is, men and women work in very different occupations (Cohen 2013). For example, in order to "undo all sex segregation by reallocating women to less segregated occupations, a full 52 percent of employed women in the United States would have to be shifted out of their current occupational category" (Charles and Grusky 2004, 4). In addition, women are concentrated in a smaller number of occupations than men, something Charles, and Grusky (2004) call "occupational ghettos" (Padavic and Reskin 2002; Charles and Grusky 2004). For example, as of 2000 in the US, 3 in 10 women in the workforce could be accounted for by only 10 of 503 detailed occupational categories (Padavic and Reskin 2002, 65). As of 2018, almost 40 percent of all women employed in the US work in occupations in

2 "Breadwinner" is a concept used to refer to the member in a couple who contributes the majority of income to the relationship. It be measured by examining discrepancies in relative proportions of income earned by each member of the couple. But so too is "breadwinner" an ideological issue as women's and men's earnings are made sense of interactionally within the couple as a unit. As such, the status of "breadwinner" is not only achieved in terms of income alone, but it is discursively constructed as couples interactionally discuss and understand the meanings associated with the income each of them bring to the table (Bridges 2013).

which at least 75 percent of those employed are also women (US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2019). While this way of characterising occupational segregation focusses on women, it is important to note that the issue is not only that women are segregated to a narrow band of occupations, but that men are both less segregated in general and also more segregated into occupations with high pay, status, and workplace benefits, relative to women's occupations. Charles and Grusky (2004, 7) call this "vertical" segregation, i.e. the fact that men dominate more "desirable" occupations. Further, despite women moving into the paid labour force at higher rates since the 1950s, the degree of occupational sex segregation in the US has barely declined since 1970 (Charles and Grusky 2004). In addition, there is some evidence occupational gender segregation has increased post industrialisation (Charles and Bradley 2009; Charles and Grusky 2004).[3]

One consequence of this high level of occupational sex-segregation is economic inequality by gender. For instance, most of the pay gap between women and men occurs because men, on average, are more likely to work in higher paying occupations than are women (Boraas and Rodgers III 2003; Wade, and Ferree 2018). In addition, occupations with higher proportions of men tend to offer better benefits, higher social status, more flexibility, more job advancement opportunities, and higher levels of authority than occupations with higher proportions of women (Kallberg 2011; Tausig 2013; Cohen and Huffman 2003; Dewar 2000; Kilbourne et al. 1994; Padavic and Reskin 2002).

A second consequence is that occupational segregation is a primary mechanism through which occupations are gendered and masculinity is upheld and reproduced. That is, although it is now considered normative in many societies for women to engage in paid work, the type of paid work that is socially constructed as appropriate for men and women is gendered. Wade and Ferree (2018, 327), for example, write, "[c]ollectively, we understand certain jobs as somehow *for* women (like nursing and teaching) and others as *for* men (construction work and computer programming)". Indeed, the most masculine typed jobs and careers are still largely inaccessible to women. For example, in the United States 91 percent of mechanical engineers, 94 percent of airline pilots, and 97 percent of construction laborers are men (Wade and Ferree 2018). What types of jobs are reserved for men, however, varies by culture. In the United States, for instance, construction work is among the occupations most dominated by men. In India, however, the construction industry is slightly over

3 The proportion of the economy comprising service sector occupations, which are gender-typed as feminine and are dominated by women, has increased in post-industrial economies (Charles and Grusky 2004).

half women, partially because of the idea that women are responsible for the home (Wade and Ferree 2018; WIEGO 2019). We highlight this example to illustrate the fact that women are participating in manual labour in the construction industry in India which in the US would be consider masculine labour. The gendered division of labour in India, however, remains. Nevertheless, the specific occupations and labour constructed as masculine or feminine differ between India and the US, and most other nations. This contrast between the US and India underscores the ways work and occupations are mobilised to socially construct what is masculine and what is not masculine.

One component of occupational sex-segregation is the gendering of jobs and occupations that occurs through a process of cultural reproduction of a "masculine" work force for certain jobs. For example, Rivera's "cultural matching" (2012) is a practice in which employers look for candidates that share cultural similarities and "fit" to maintain a specific kind of environment within the workplace – one that resists diversity of all kinds, including gender diversity (Rivera 2012).

Women being kept out of occupations dominated by men is one way that occupational segregation reinforces masculinity through work and professions. But, occupations dominated by women, such as nursing and librarians, are also part of the gendering of work and occupations. Men in these occupations are gender policed by others in ways that both advantage and disadvantage men, but consistently devalue femininity (Williams 1995). Williams (1995) interviewed men who worked in occupations culturally understood as "feminine" and they reported that while they were welcomed in their occupations by their women coworkers, they were held accountable for not being masculine enough by those outside of their occupation. Another way in which the men are policed in "feminine" occupations is that they are encouraged in patterned ways to pursue higher-level positions, a phenomenon Williams (1995) called "the glass escalator." This advantages men in that they have more access to promotions than the women they work alongside, while simultaneously devaluing feminine work. One of Williams' (1995) respondents, a man elementary school teacher said:

> [My father's] first reaction was, "Well, that's a good start, and eventually, you know, you'll be able to be a principal, maybe start your own school . . . And every time I talked to him his comments were always, "You still like it? [laughs] "You still doing it?" . . . He would probably like it better if I was the head of the school". (Williams 1995, 63)

In the context of the United States, this gendered process is racialised in that Williams' (1995) "glass escalator" is largely available to white men in occupations dominated by women (Wingfield 2009). In this way, Black masculinity in

the US is constructed as not appropriate for leadership positions in fields gendered feminine, while white masculinity is.

The degree of occupational and educational sex segregation varies by country (Charles and Grusky 2004). And cross-cultural research provides evidence that occupational sex segregation is linked to gender essentialist ideologies, ideologies which have proved especially resistant to change over time (Charles and Grusky 2004; Charles and Bradley 2009). For example, Charles and Grusky (2004) show that gender essentialist ideologies can explain high levels of occupational sex segregation in some countries with otherwise high levels of gender equality and economic development. This interplay between gender essentialism and occupations underscores and reinforces the way that occupations both remain gendered and reinforce gender.

In addition to occupations, fields of college study are very segregated by sex, across many countries (Charles and Bradley 2009). And, as in the case of work and occupations, the segregation of field of study is tightly linked to ideologies of what work and areas of study are appropriate for women and for men. Women show a patterned overrepresentation in "expressive and human-centered fields" and men show the same pattern in "technical and math-intensive fields" (Charles and Bradley 2009, 940). This is evidence of the gendered nature of professional training and another way that masculinity is reproduced in work and careers. For example, in a study of 44 societies, Charles and Bradley (2009) discuss how college graduates in the most affluent societies have the luxury of expressing their "gendered selves" by choosing more sex-typed fields than their counterparts in less economically developed counties. Charles and Bradley (2009) argue that it is gender essentialist ideologies that drive the choice to segregate into sex-typed fields of study among these college graduates from more affluent societies. This in turn, is a force for reproduction of occupational sex-segregation.

The Breadwinner Norm and Breadwinning as Ideology

The breadwinner norm is a fundamental part of contemporary masculinity in industrialised and post industrialised societies (Thébaud 2010). Though many aspects of masculine norms have changed and reorganised over time, the idea that men need to be breadwinners is especially sticky (Ehrenreich 1983; Townsend 2002). The ideal of the breadwinner norm remains very powerful, despite the fact that the dominance of the man as breadwinner household (i.e., man in the paid workforce, women doing unpaid homemaking and childrearing labour, and children not working for pay) was quite short lived, and even at its height, primarily

was available to white, upper- and middle-class families (Coontz 2005). For example, many people around the world believe that men have more of a "right to a job" than do women when "jobs are scarce" (see Figure 2). This perception of the "right to a job" is connected with the relationship between masculinity, work, and career as well as the gendered ideology of breadwinning. One reason the breadwinner norm is powerful is because it combines men's accountability to each other with powerful economic and status incentives for men. That is, men both feel enormous social pressure to enact masculinity as breadwinners and upholding the breadwinner norm garners men economic advantages, social status, and power.

Investment in a breadwinning ideology is patterned by the gender of the worker. Gerson (2010) discovered that young heterosexual women and men are interested in finding egalitarian partnerships that prioritise both partners' abilities to find meaningful work. She also found, however, that women's and men's backup plans differed by gender: women were more likely to say they would rather remain outside a relationship if they could not achieve an egalitarian relationship, while men's backup plans were to serve as primary breadwinners in their relationships. These gendered sentiments and investments in work and family arrangements are structured by national policies associated with work and family leave. As Castro-García and Pazos-Moran (2016) argue, gender equity at work and home is not possible without equal, non-transferable, well-paid leave options for both women and men. And different nations have different work cultures and workplace expectations, creating different social and cultural environments in which decisions about work and career are made (e.g. Kaufman and Almqvist 2017; Collins 2019).

Like many aspects of masculinity, such as norms of heterosexual prowess (Pascoe 2007), the breadwinner norm is often upheld through interactions with other men. Research in the US shows that many men feel intense pressure to conform to the breadwinner ideal, particularly in the eyes of other men. This can be the case regardless of their own beliefs about the importance of the breadwinner norm (Thébaud and Pedulla 2016) partially because of gendered biases, and sometimes harassment, from others surrounding men's preferences for shorter work hours or more flexibility (e.g. Berdahl and Moon 2013; Rudman and Mescher 2013; Vandello et al. 2013). For instance, Thébaud and Pedulla (2016) find that young, unmarried men's views about whether they prefer a relationship in which they are the primary breadwinner versus a more egalitarian relationship, under conditions of having access to supportive work-family friendly policies, are predicted by their beliefs about what other young men want, rather than by their own preferences. This is evidence that the breadwinner ideal is important and that men feel accountable to other men to uphold this norm.

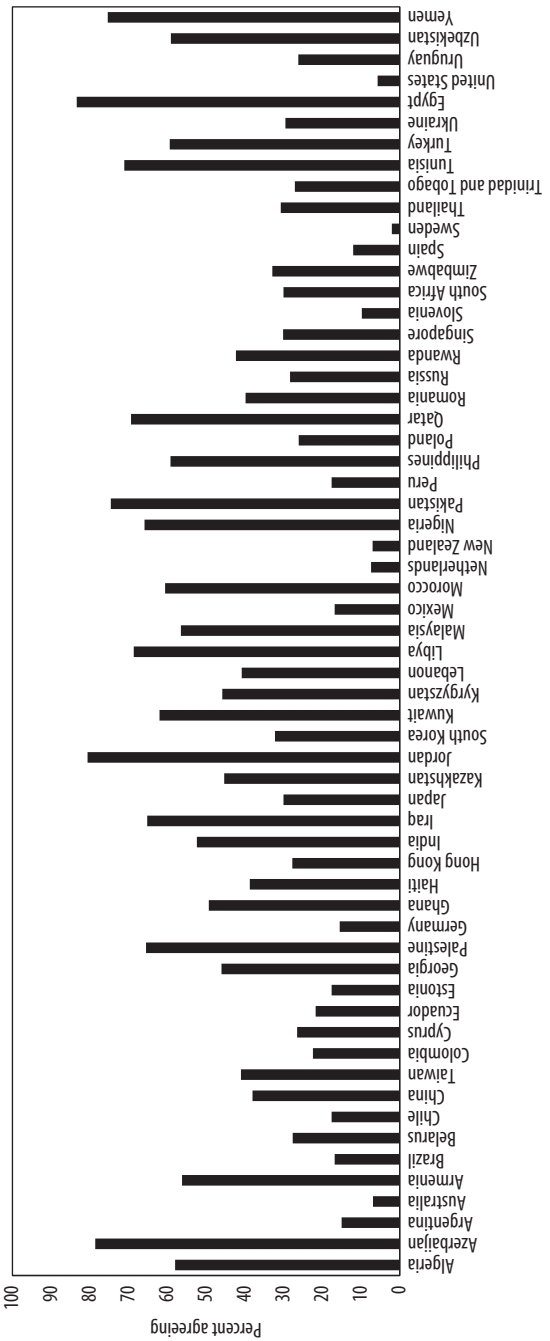

Figure 2: Percentage of Respondents Who "Agree" with the Statement: "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women".
World Values Survey, 2010–2014
Data Source: World Values Survey, 2010–2014. Available at: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp.

Research underscores the importance of breadwinning by demonstrating that men who are constrained from being breadwinners will sometimes compensate by doing less housework. For example, Brines (1994) shows that, especially among white families in the US, men reduce their contribution to housework when their breadwinning status is diminished through economic dependency on their wife. Similarly, Schneider (2012) showed that men who work in fields dominated by women in the US do more hours of household tasks coded as "masculine" than men in more mixed-sex occupations.

Thébaud (2010) shows that the relationship between breadwinning and men's contribution to housework varies cross culturally. In countries where paid work is more highly valued, men who are economically dependent on their wives are less likely to do housework than men who are equally economically dependent on their wives in countries where paid work is least highly valued. That is, in counties in which the breadwinner norm is strong, men are more likely to overcompensate if they are not breadwinners – underscoring the importance of breadwinner norms of masculinity and how they vary cross culturally.

In addition to the work that shows that men compensate for loss of breadwinner status by doing less housework, Munsch (2015, 2018) shows that economically dependent men are more likely to engage in infidelity than other men, and found evidence that this effect is stronger for economically dependent men than for economically dependent women. This work provides further evidence that breadwinning is central to the masculine identity in that men who cannot achieve breadwinner status will overcompensate in other ways.

Interestingly, despite all of this evidence that breadwinning is central to masculine identity, it is not clear that men actually prefer breadwinning to be a dominant source of their identity (Gerson 2010; Pedulla and Thébaud 2015). Pedulla and Thébaud (2015) show that, at least among young adults in the US, all else being equal, when people feel that they have access to family-friendly work policies men and women are equally likely to prefer a relationship in which women and men have equal caregiving responsibilities. However, understanding the importance of the breadwinner ideal to masculinity is more complicated than men's face value preferences for egalitarian relationships. Men are also advantaged by the breadwinner norm in that it garners them economic power through increased earnings, social status, and relative power in their romantic relationships (Crittenden 2001; Gerson 2010). For this reason, as well as to adhere to norms of masculinity, men are more inclined to ascribe to the breadwinner norm than women when work-family conflict forces people to choose (Pedulla and Thébaud 2015). In this way, economic incentives, power incentives in relationships, and "accountability" to "do masculinity", especially from other men, collide and create powerful forces to reproduce and

underscore the breadwinner norm as a key part of the masculine ideal (West and Zimmerman 1987).

The Devaluation of Femininity in Work and Careers

An important component of the project of masculinity and masculine privilege is the devaluation of femininity. Research across the disciplines has shown that femininity is culturally devalued in many societies. That is, femininity is often valued in ways that structurally situate women in lower status positions in society than men. In fact, masculinity is so valuable that people are rewarded for "doing masculinity" regardless of their gender (Wade and Ferree 2018, 133).[4] This devaluation is characterised by men and masculinity being seen not only as *different*[5] from women and femininity but as inherently more valuable. Connell (1987, 1995) refers to the advantages accrued by the devaluation of femininity as the "patriarchal dividend": structured advantages that accrue to men collectively as a result of the maintenance of gender inequality, and to some men more than others. As such, cultural devaluation of femininity is one of the ways that gender inequality is perpetuated.

Cultural devaluation of femininity can be seen in the devaluation of work that is associated with women and femininity, such as care work and service work (Kilbourne et al. 1994). Feminist work in economics and sociology provides

4 The rewards women receive for "doing masculinity" at work, however, are complicated by the fact that women are also sanctioned for engaging in what are perceived to be "masculine" behaviors in the workplace. For example, Heilman, et al. (2004) show that women who succeed at tasks coded as "masculine" (such as a leadership position in a "masculine" occupation) are more personally disliked than men who succeed at the same task and than women who do not succeed. Furthermore, this personal dislike resulting from the backlash to their success in work tasks understood as "masculine" was linked to important outcomes such as evaluation of their job performance and recommendations for a raise or promotion. Similarly, Rudman (1998) found that while self-promotion is an important factor is performing competence in the workplace, women suffer social reprisals for self-promoting because it violates gendered prescriptions for women to exhibit modesty. As such, women experience a "double bind": that is, "doing masculinity" by pursuing workplace success comes at the cost of being seen as less likable, which in turn has its own negative consequences in terms of garnering workplace rewards such as increased pay and access to promotions. While, overall then women can be rewarded for enacting masculinity in the workplace, such rewards are also tempered with gendered costs associated with enacting masculinity by women when compared with men.

5 In fact, there is more evidence of similarities between women and men than of differences (Hyde 2005), but firmly held beliefs like ideological investments in gender differences as "real" are not always toppled with disconfirming evidence (e.g. Neihan and Reifler 2010).

evidence that gendered understandings of work are better predictors of the value assigned to work than the work's inherent value (England 1992a). For instance, when occupations require skills that are culturally associated with women (e.g. nurturance, care taking), the wages are lower than in otherwise comparable occupations (England and Folbre 2005; Kilbourne et al. 1994; Levanon et al. 2009). Also, occupations with higher percentages of women pay less to *both* women and men workers, even when controlling a variety of other factors than might account for this discrepancy, such as level of education and job skills (Kilbourne et al. 1994; Levanon, England and Alison 2009). For instance, in some cases, secretaries earn less than workers in jobs dominated by men requiring no more than an 8th grade education (England 1992a). Furthermore, there are many examples where work culturally coded feminine that requires higher qualifications is less well compensated than work understood as masculine that requires lower qualifications, and virtually no examples to the contrary (i.e., where "masculine" work that requires higher levels of skill and/or education is less well compensated than "feminine" work that requires lower levels of skill and/or education) (England 1992a). Longitudinal research in this area has demonstrated that when the sex composition of an occupation becomes more dominated by women at one point in time, the pay of that occupation decreases at a later point in time (Levanon, England and Alison 2009). This body of research shows that work is devalued, and underpaid, if it is associated with women and femininity and this devaluation is part of the patriarchal dividend afforded to men and masculinity.

Along these lines, Reskin and Roos (1990) delineated two processes accompanying women's entry into occupations formerly dominated by men: (1) resegregation (where an occupation shifts from being dominated by men to women, or vice versa), and (2) ghettoisation (a process in which women are concentrated in the lower status and lower paying specialties). Both of these processes result from the social and cultural devaluation of femininity. And this devaluation of femininity is one reason why men leave occupations as larger numbers of women enter them – a phenomenon sometimes referred to as "male flight" (Reskin and Roos 1994; Wright and Jacobs 1994; Lincoln 2010). Historical scholarship on work and careers also demonstrates resegregation processes through which the gender typing of jobs has changed over time. For example, clerical and secretarial work used to be a job dominated by men in the early twentieth century. Today women dominate these jobs. In addition, the original flight attendants were almost exclusively men, but by the late 1950s, this had reversed, and flight attendants were almost all women (Wade and Ferree 2018). This kind of resegregation and ghettoisation is part of the process by which femininity is devalued in work settings and masculinity is rewarded.

The devaluation of work understood to be feminine at the social structural level is coupled with the devaluation of "feminine" work at the level of social interactions and with individual beliefs about women workers. Social psychological work in the US has demonstrated that women are generally perceived to be less competent, and afforded lower social status than men, in workplace contexts (controlling for relevant qualifications, credentials, and other personal characteristics) (Ridgeway 2011; Ridgeway 1993; Ridgeway and Correll 2004; Ridgeway 2011; England 2016). Women are especially less likely to be seen as less competent, and to be afforded lower social status than men, in tasks and in industries understood as masculine (Heilman et al. 2004; Tak, Correll and Soule 2019).

One illustrative example can be found in research by two economists, Claudia Goldin and Cecelia Rouse (2000), who capitalised on a natural experiment that took place in the 1970s and 1980s when the format of auditions for major symphony orchestras changed. Over those decades, many orchestras put up screens when auditioning musicians because of concerns about nepotism and cultural matching in the selection process. Orchestras were concerned musicians were being selected not based on talent alone but also based on their social networks and, therefore, used screens to block the judges' views of the musician so that the judges could only assess talent based on the sound of the music. But the screens had unanticipated consequences: the rate of women being selected increased sharply, even controlling for other factors like the absolute increase in number of women auditioning over this time period (see Figure 3).

As such, Goldin and Rouse (2000) showed how unconscious biases devaluing the competence of women as elite musicians was a key factor in lower rates of selection of women, as compared to men, as orchestra musicians. That is, they showed how gender biases that produced doubts about women musicians' ability to play at the same level as men disadvantaged them, even when judges were not aware of their own biases. Goldin and Rouse (2000) found that women's musical talent was being systematically devalued in the section process, leading to the sex-segregation of major symphony orchestras. The findings of this study are consistent with decades of experimental, and other social scientific research, confirming that women's talents are systematically devalued and that, all else being equal, women are thought to be less competent, and are afforded less status, as compared to men in the workplace (Ridgeway 2011).

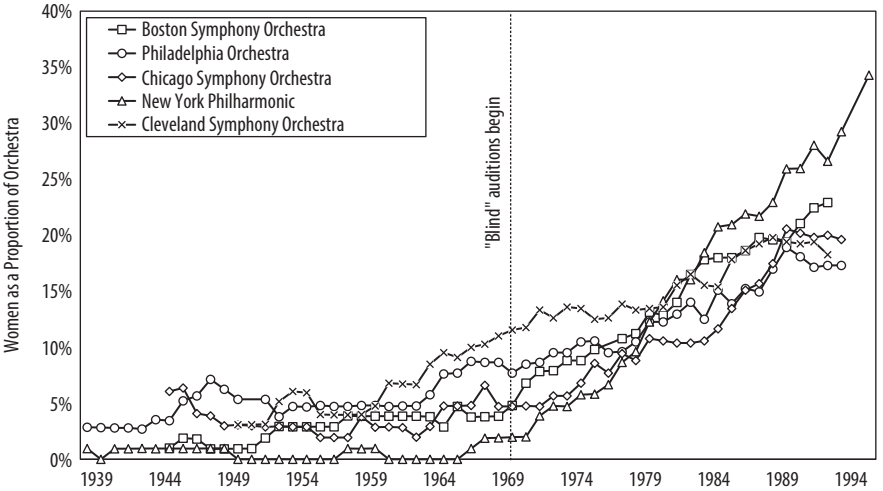

Figure 3: Proportion of Women in the "Big Five" U.S. Symphony Orchestras, 1939–1996. Source: Goldin, Claudia and Cecelia Rouse. "Orchestrating Impartiality: The Impact of Blind Auditions on the Sex Composition of Orchestras." *American Economic Review* 90, 4 (September 2000): 715–741.

Masculinity Contest Cultures

Berdahl, et al. (2018) identify what they refer to as "masculinity contest cultures" in which conspicuous displays of workloads and long schedules are endemic, corners are cut to out-earn or out-perform co-workers, or unreasonable risks are part of the normative experience at work. Which of these elements is stressed, Berdahl et al. (2018) argue, differs by industry, but the role of masculinity contests connects these elements. As they write, "[M]uch of what simply appears to be neutral practices and what it takes to get ahead at work is actually counterproductive behaviour aimed at proving manhood on the job" (2018, 424). Berdahl et al. (2018) argue that this idea helps us look past individual men alone, examining how enactments of masculinity come to constitute organisational culture in ways that harm women and men. In many cases, for instance, masculinity contest cultures operate under the guise of different kinds of "expertise" and "authority" (see also Collinson and Hearn 1994) in which some groups of men with power are structurally positioned in ways that enable them to push workplace agendas over other groups with less workplace power. As such, the relationship between masculinity, work, and career persists through workplace interactions in which masculinity is at stake. Of note, these kinds of masculinity contest cultures exist to varying

degrees in differing industries or occupations and they especially tend to typify workplace cultures in occupations dominated by men.

Consider the following example: on January 28, 1986, NASA launched the Space Shuttle Challenger for the last time. Approximately one minute and thirteen seconds into the flight, the shuttle exploded, scattering the crew and shuttle across the Atlantic. All seven crew members died. It is one of the most horrific disasters in modern astronomical history. A specific technology on board failed during the launch: the part of the shuttle designed to change form under the extreme fluctuations in temperature to seal the shuttle (the O-rings). This resulted in pressurised gas coming into contact with the external fuel tanks and leading to the explosion.

Among the issues that led to the disaster was what could be seen as a masculinity contest culture at NASA. Messerschmidt's (1995) analysis of the gendered organisational dynamics that led to the disaster is a demonstration of the power of masculinity in the workplace (see also Maier 1993 and Maier and Messerschmidt 1998). NASA is a highly masculinised workplace culture and its workforce is heavily dominated by men. And, as Cockburn (1985) argued, the technical competence central to work at NASA is an element of "manly" work. Furthermore, astronauts can be seen as an example of what Pascoe and Bridges (2016) refer to as "masculinity entrepreneurs," in that they were relied upon to usher in a new understanding of a national culture of masculinity during the Cold War era. During that era, the "space race" between the United States and Russia could itself be understood as a masculinity contest culture. As such, rocket science as an industry, and NASA in particular, are deeply connected to masculinity and the masculine project of nation and nationality (Sage 2009; Llinares 2011).[6]

The connection between ideologies and practices of masculinity and the Challenger explosion cut to some of the core of the relationship between men and their careers. The crux of the issue in this case was a heated debate amongst two groups of workers at NASA who understood masculinity somewhat differently from each other: managers and engineers. The decision to launch Space Shuttle Challenger was made against the advice of the engineers, who collectively agreed that the O-rings were too much of a risk to continue with the launch. According to Messerschmidt (1995) masculinity at work was, for the engineers, tied to a complete understanding of how the shuttle operated, its capacities and – of particular

6 Feminist scholarship on nuclear weaponry and national defense has also documented masculinist cultures demonstrating the connection between masculinity and nation. For instance, Cohn's (1987) analysis of a community of "defense intellectuals" and the masculinist discourses used to describe and discuss nuclear weaponry, war, and violence.

relevance here – its limits. Managers at NASA decided to launch against the recommendation of the engineers. Messerschmidt (1995) suggests that, in contrast to the engineers, masculinity among the managers was tied to understanding and taking calculated risks associated with competition in a market economy. That is, risk taking was a characteristic of managerial masculinity at NASA while knowledge, forethought, and risk aversion were characteristic of engineering masculinity. This created a masculinity contest favouring managers because of power and hierarchies in the workplace and putting lives at risk. As such, we can understand the Challenger shuttle disaster as resulting from a clash of two differing of masculinity cultures at work.

As Acker (1990, 2006) argued, jobs themselves are gendered, before the bodies of actual workers take up the work. And the oft-neutral appearing norms and values that shape workplace obligations and metrics of success sometimes mobilise gender practices in ways that promote work environments in which only "real men" are structurally and culturally positioned to thrive. Morgan (1992) argued that work shapes different sorts of "materials" out of which disparate forms of workplace masculinity are constructed. These sorts of "masculinity challenges" (Messerschmidt 2000) or "masculinity contests" give rise to "masculinity contest cultures" (Berdahl et al. 2018). Such masculinity contest cultures then shape incidents from the Space Shuttle Challenger explosion to the much more mundane.

Discussion and Conclusion

The connections between masculinity, work, and career are cross cultural and historically enduring. Hughes (1958) wrote that men's careers were "as good a clue as any" to men's social identities. In this chapter, we argue that beyond men's social identities, the social and cultural relationship between masculinity, work, and careers is a central element of gender *inequality*. We first summarised key scholarship that linked masculinity with issues of work and career. We also argue that feminist scholarship examining this relationship must attend to four critical dimensions: (1) the effects of occupational sex segregation, (2) the social, cultural, and economic power of the breadwinner norm, (3) the social and cultural devaluation of femininity and women in work and occupations, and (4) masculinity contest cultures in the workplace.

In our analyses, we have delineated these four dimensions as somewhat distinct. However, these dimensions also overlap and are interrelated. For instance, masculinity contest cultures emerge, in part, as a result of occupational sex segregation. Furthermore breadwinning norms that encourage careerism

and hyper-masculinity simultaneously work to systematically devalue work associated with women. As such, different dimensions of the relationships we outline here affect and condition one another. Further, the relationship between these dimensions involves reciprocal effects. Analysing these effects as reciprocal helps to elucidate how the relationship between work, masculinity, and gender inequality remains durable. In fact, it is through an intersecting arrangement of these dimensions that the relationship between masculinity, work, and career is implicated in the reproduction of gender inequality. In addition, we may see challenges to, or progress on, some of these dimensions alongside stagnation or regression along others. Understanding the multidimensional nature of such shifts allows us to better appreciate both continuity and change in gender relations and inequality. Overall, masculinity is tied to work and occupations in multiple ways and the relationship between masculinity, work, and career is a key factor in understanding gender inequality.

References

Acker, Joan. 1989. "The Problem with Patriarchy." *Sociology* 23(2): 235–240.

Acker, Joan. 1990. "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations." *Gender & Society* 4(2): 139–158.

Acker, Joan. 2006. "Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations." *Gender & Society* 20(4): 441–464.

Berdahl, Jennifer L., Marianne Cooper, Peter Glick, Robert W. Livingston, Joan C. Williams. 2018. "Work as a Masculinity Contest." *Journal of Social Issues* 74(3): 422–448.

Berdahl, Jennifer L., and Sue H. Moon. 2013. "Workplace Mistreatment of Middle- Class Workers Based on Sex, Parenthood, and Caregiving." *Journal of Social Issues* 69(2): 341–366.

Blumberg, Rae L. 1978. *Stratification: Socioeconomic and Sexual Inequality*. New York: William C. Brown.

Blumberg, Rae Lesser. 1984. "A General Theory of Gender Stratification." *Sociological Theory* 2: 23–101.

Boraas, Stephanie, and William M. Rodgers III. 2003. "How Does Gender Play a Role in the Earnings Gap: An Update." *Monthly Labor Review* 126: 9–15.

Bridges, Tristan. 2013. "Beyond Dollar and Cents: A Cultural Supplement to the Breadwinner Moms Debate." *Inequality by (Interior) Design* (blog). https://inequalitybyinteriordesign.wordpress.com/2013/06/06/beyond-dollars-and-cents/

Bridges, Tristan, and C.J. Pascoe. 2018. "On the Elasticity of Gender Hegemony: Why Hybrid Masculinities Fail to Undermine Gender and Sexual Inequality." In *Gender Reckonings: New Social Theory and Research*, edited by Messerschmidt, James W., Michael A. Messner, Raewyn Connell, and Patricia Yancey Martin. New York: New York University Press.

Brines, Julie. 1994. "Economic Dependency, Gender, and the Division of Labor at Home." *American Journal of Sociology* 100(3): 652–688.
Castro-García, Carmen, and Maria Pazos-Moran. 2016. "Parental Leave Policy and Gender Equality in Europe." *Feminist Economics* 22(3): 51–73.
Charles, Maria, and Karen Bradley. 2009. "Indulging Our Gendered Selves? Sex Segregation by Field of Study in 44 Countries." *American Journal of Sociology* 114: 924–976.
Charles, Maria, and David Grusky. 2004. *Occupational Ghettos: The Worldwide Segregation of Women and Men*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Cockburn, Cynthia. 1985. *Machinery of Dominance: Women, Men and Technical Know-How*. London: Pluto Press.
Cohn, Carol. 1987. "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12(4): 687–718.
Cohen, Philip N. 2013. "The Persistence of Workplace Gender Segregation in the US." *Sociology Compass* 7(11): 889–899.
Cohen, Philip N., and Matt L. Huffman. 2003. "Occupational Segregation and the Devaluation of Women's Work across US Labor Markets." *Social Forces* 81(3): 881–908.
Collinson, David, and Jeff Hearn. 1994. "Naming Men as Men: Implications for Work, Organization and Management." *Gender, Work & Organization* 1(1): 2–22.
Collins, Caitlyn. 2019. *Making Motherhood Work: How Mothers Manage Careers and Caregiving*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Connell, Raewyn. 1987. *Gender and Power*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Connell, Raewyn. 1995. *Masculinities*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Connell, Raewyn. 2002. *Gender: An Introduction*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
Connell, Raewyn. 2004. "Encounters with Structure." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 17(1): 10–27.
Coontz, Stephanie. 1992. *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap*. New York: Basic Books.
Coontz, Stephanie. 2005. *Marriage, a History*. London: Penguin Books.
Cowan, Ruth S. 1983. *More Work for Mother*. New York: Basic Books.
Crittenden, Ann. 2001. *The Price of Motherhood: Why the Most Important Job in the World is Still the Least Valued*. New York: Macmillan.
Dewar, Diane M. 2000. "Gender Impacts on Health Insurance Coverage: Findings for Unmarried Full-time Employees." *Women's Health Issues* 10(5): 268–277.
Ehrenreich, Barbara. 1983. *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment*. New York: Anchor Books.
England, Paula. 1992a. *Comparable Worth: Theories and Evidence*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
England, Paula. 1992b. "From Status Attainment to Segregation and Devaluation." *Contemporary Sociology* 21(5): 643–647.
England, Paula. 2016. "Sometimes the Social Becomes Personal: Gender, Class and Sexualities." *American Sociological Review* 81(1): 4–28.
England, Paula, and Nancy Folbre. 2005. "Gender and Economic Sociology." In *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, edited by Smelser, Neil J., and Richard Swedberg, 627–649. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
Gerson, Kathleen. 2010. *The Unfinished Revolution: How a New Generation is Reshaping Family, Work, and Gender in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1977. "The Arrangement between the Sexes." *Theory and Society* 4(3): 301–331.
Goldin, Claudia, and Cecelia Rouse. 2000. "Orchestrating Impartiality: The Impact of 'Blind' Auditions on Female Musicians." *American Economic Review* 90(4): 715–741.
Geist, Claudia, and Philip N. Cohen. 2011. "Headed Toward Equality?: Housework Change in Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 73(4): 832–844.
Hartmann, Heidi I. 1979. "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism." *Capital & Class* 3 (2): 1–33.
Hearn, Jeff. 1987. *The Gender of Oppression: Men, Masculinity and the Critique of Marxism*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Heilman, Madeline E., Aaron S. Wallen, Daniella Fuchs, and Melinda M. Tamkins. 2004. "Penalties for Success: Reactions to Women Who Succeed at Male Gender-Typed Tasks." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 89: 416–427.
Holter, Øystein G. 2005. "Social Theories for Researching Men and Masculinities: Direct Gender Hierarchy and Structural Inequality." In *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, edited by Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and Raewyn Connell, 15–34. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
Hughes, Everett C. 1958. *Men and their Work*. New York: Free Press.
Hyde, Janet S. 2005. "The Gender Similarities Hypothesis." *American Psychologist* 60(6): 581–592.
Kallberg, Arne L. 2011. *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs: The Rise of Precarious and Polarized Employment Systems in the United States, 1970s to 2000s*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
Kaufman, Gayle, and Anna-Lena Almqvist. 2017. "The Role of Partners and Workplaces in British and Swedish Men's Parental Leave Decisions." *Men and Masculinities* 20(5): 533–551.
Kilbourne, Barbara S., Paula England, George Farkas, Kurt Beron, and Dortothea Weir. 1994. "Returns to Skill, Compensating Differentials, and Gender Bias." *American Journal of Sociology* 100(3): 689–719.
Lasch, Christopher. 1977. *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged*. New York: Basic Books.
Levanon, Asaf, Paula England, and Paul Allison. 2009. "Occupational Feminization and Pay: Assessing Causal Dynamics Using 1950–2000 US Census Data." *Social Forces* 88(2): 865–891.
Lincoln, Anne E. 2010. "The Shifting Supply of Men and Women to Occupations: Feminization in Veterinary Education." *Social Forces* 88(5): 1969–1998.
Llinares, Dario. 2011. *The Astronaut: Cultural Mythology and Idealised Masculinity*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
Maier, Mark. 1993. "Am I the only one who wants to launch?": Corporate Masculinity and the Space Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster. *Masculinities* 1(1–2): 34–45.
Maier, Mark, and James W. Messerschmidt. 1998. "Commonalities, Conflicts and Contradictions in Organizational Masculinities: Exploring the Gendered Genesis of the Challenger Disaster." *Canadian Review of Sociology* 35(3): 325–344.
Messerschmidt, James W. 1995. "Managing to Kill: Masculinities and the Space Shuttle Challenger Explosion." *Masculinities* 3(4): 1–22.
Messerschmidt, James W. 2000. "Becoming Real Men: Adolescent Masculinity Challenges and Sexual Violence." *Men and Masculinities* 2(3): 286–307.
Mitchel, Juliet. 1974. *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*. New York: Pantheon.

Morgan, David H. 1992. *Discovering Men*. London: Routledge.
Munsch, Christin L. 2015. "Her Support, His Support: Money, Masculinity, and Marital Infidelity." *American Sociological Review* 80(3): 469–495.
Munsch, Christin L. 2018. "Correction: 'Her Support, His Support: Money, Masculinity, and Marital Infidelity'" *American Sociological Review* 80(3): 469–95, 833–838.
Neihan, Brendan, and Jason Reifler. 2010. "When Corrections Fail: The Persistence of Political Misperceptions." *Political Behavior* 32(2): 303–330.
Padavic, Irene, and Barbara F. Reskin. 2002. *Women and Men at Work*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
Pascoe, C.J. 2007. *Dude, You're a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Pascoe, C.J., and Tristan Bridges. 2016. "Historicizing Masculinities: An Introduction." In *Exploring masculinities: Identity, Inequality, Continuity, and Change*, edited by C.J. Pascoe, and Tristan Bridges. New York: Oxford University Press.
Pedulla, David S., and Sarah Thébaud. 2015. "Can We Finish the Revolution?: Gender, Work-Family Ideals, and Institutional Constraint." *American Sociological Review* 80(1): 116–139.
Reskin, Barbara. 1993. "Sex Segregation in the Workplace." *Annual Review of Sociology* 19(1): 241–270.
Reskin, Barbara F. and Patricia A. Roos. 1990. *Job Queues, Gender Queues: Explaining Women's Inroads into Male Occupations*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Rhode, Deborah L. 1997. *Speaking of Sex: Denial of Gender Inequality*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Ridgeway, Cecilia L. 1993. "Gender, Status, and the Social Psychology of Expectations." In *Theory on Gender. Feminism on Theory*, edited by Paula England, 175–198. New York: de Gruyter.
Ridgeway, Cecelia L. 2011. *Framed by Gender: How Gender Inequality Persists in the Modern World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Ridgeway, Cecilia L., and Shelley J. Correll. 2004. "Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations." *Gender & Society* 18(4): 510–531.
Risman, Barbara. 1998. *Gender Vertigo*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Rivera, Lauren A. 2012. "Hiring as Cultural Matching: The Case of Elite Professional Service Firms." *American Sociological Review* 77(6): 999–1022.
Rubin, Gayle. 1975. "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex." In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, edited by Rayna Reiter, 157–210. New York: Monthly Review Press.
Rudman, Laurie A. 1998. "Self-Promotion as a Risk Factor for Women: The Costs and Benefits of Counterstereotypical Impression Management." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74(3): 629–645.
Rudman, Laurie A., and Kris Mescher. 2013. "Penalizing Men who Request a Family Leave: Is Flexibility Stigma a Femininity Stigma?" *Journal of Social Issues* 69(2): 322–340.
Sage, Daniel. 2009. "Giant Leaps and Forgotten Steps: NASA and the Performance of Gender." *The Sociological Review* 57(1): 146–163.
Schneider, Daniel. 2002. "Gender Deviance and Household Work: The Role of Occupation." *American Journal of Sociology* 117(4): 1029–1072.
Tak, Elise, Shelley J. Correll, and Sarah A. Soule. 2019. "Gender Inequality in Product Markets: When and How Status Beliefs Transfer to Products." *Social Forces*. 98(2): 548–577.

Tausig, Mark. 2013. "The Sociology of Work and Well-Being." In *Handbook of the Sociology of Mental Health*, edited by Carol S. Aneshensel, Jo C. Phelan, and Alex Bierman, 433–455. Dordrecht, Holland: Springer.

Thébaud, Sarah. 2010. "Masculinity, Bargaining, and Breadwinning: Understanding Men's Housework in the Cultural Context of Paid Work." *Gender & Society* 24(3): 330–354.

Thébaud, Sarah and David S. Pedulla. 2016. "Masculinity and the Stalled Revolution: How Gender Ideologies and Norms Shape Young Men's Responses to Work-Family Policies." *Gender & Society* 30(4): 590–617.

Tosh, John. 2007. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Townsend, Nicholas W. 2002. *The Package Deal: Marriage, Work, and Fatherhood in Men's Lives*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

US Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2019. "Household Data Annual Averages. 11. Employed Persons by Detailed Occupation, Sex, Race, and Hispanic or Latino Ethnicity." January 19. *United States Department of Labor*. Available at: https://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat11.htm

Vandello, Joseph A., Vanessa Hettinger, Jennifer K. Bosson, and Jasmine Siddiqi. 2013. "When Equal Isn't Really Equal: The Masculine Dilemma of Seeking Work Flexibility." *Journal of Social Issues* 69(2): 303–321.

Vickery, Amanda. 1993. "Golden Age to Separate Spheres?: A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History." *The Historical Journal* 36(2): 383–414.

Vickery, Amanda. 2009. *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Wade, Lisa and Myra Marx Ferree. 2018. *Gender: Ideas, Interactions, Institutions, 2nd edition*. New York: Norton.

Walby, Sylvia. 1990. *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

West, Candace, and Sarah Fenstermaker. 1995. "Doing Difference." *Gender & Society* 9(1): 8–37.

West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender & Society* 1(2): 125–151.

WIEGO. 2019. Women in India's Construction Industry. *Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing*. Retrieved March 5, 2019. Available at: http://www.wiego.org/informal-economy/women-india%E2%80%99s-construction-industry

Williams, Christine L. 1995. *Still a Man's World: Men Who Do Women's Work.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wingfield, Adia H. 2009. "Racializing the Glass Escalator: Reconsidering Men's Experiences with Women's Work." *Gender & Society* 23(1): 5–26.

Wright, Rosemary, and Jerry A. Jacobs. 1994. "Male Flight from Computer Work: A New Look at Occupations Resegregation and Ghettoization." *American Sociological Review* 59(4): 511–536.

Kadri Aavik

11 Studying Privileged Men's Career Narratives from an Intersectional Perspective: The Methodological Challenge of the Invisibility of Privilege

Abstract: Studying elites and, more particularly, privileged men is worthwhile because the favourable position of these individuals and groups in the social hierarchy allows them to make significant material and cultural impact on the world. Often, such an advantage is unearned and involves a sense of entitlement and lack of awareness of being in possession of it. It is therefore crucial to understand how this power operates and is maintained, by disrupting the invisibility of privilege. This chapter addresses methodological issues pertaining to the study of men, masculinities and privilege, drawing on privileged men's career narratives. I focus on a particular methodological problem I encountered when studying the career narratives of male managers from an intersectional perspective: the invisibility of privilege in these accounts. In sociological research, intersectional approaches typically assume identifying socially constructed categories of identity and difference in people's accounts of their experiences and studying relationships between these. However, the narratives of the male managers in question lacked references to social categories (gender, race, class etc.) in their self-descriptions. This chapter explores this problem and discusses some potential methodological solutions and ways forward. Finally, I suggest that some recent cultural changes and transforming gender relations are gradually marking privileged men and masculinities. Masculinity, then, is increasingly emerging from the status of an unmarked category.

Introduction

Intersectionality, originating from the work of Black feminist scholars (Crenshaw 1989: 1991), has become a key concept and theoretical approach in contemporary feminist and gender studies and has been adopted in some other areas of social

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-012

sciences and humanities as well.[1] Intersectional perspectives seek to understand how socially constructed categories, such as gender, race, class and age intersect and mutually shape each other in people's experience and how these intersections contribute to social inequality. As such, intersectionality helps to theorise power relations on various levels of the society in more nuanced and complex ways, compared to so-called unitary approaches focusing on one axis of power or social category at a time.

First emerging as a theoretical approach, intersectionality has also been discussed and developed as a methodology (see for example Bilge 2009; Choo and Ferree 2010; Hancock 2007; Lykke 2010; McCall 2005; Windsong 2016) and a specific research method (Lutz 2015). This scholarship has focused on various possibilities and complexities of conducting social science research from an intersectional perspective, both in quantitative and qualitative inquiry. While this work is useful in advancing our understanding of how to apply intersectionality as a methodological tool, some important gaps remain. Partly stemming from the original focus of intersectionality – to understand experiences of marginalised groups (specifically, the original focus was on Black working-class women in the US), intersectionality continues to be primarily used to study how various axes of power and social categories intersect to produce disadvantage. In other words, the focus has remained on marginalised groups and identities – those that are marked. Attention to privilege and privileged groups within intersectionality frameworks has thus far been scarce. This has been identified as a significant gap or missing element in some existing work (Lewis 2009, 209). This lack is also reflected in methodological discussions on intersectionality, which almost exclusively deal with questions of how to study intersections involving disadvantage. As a related and relevant observation to the discussion here, there is also a scarcity of (critical) methodological attention to men and masculinities (Pini and Pease 2013, 1).

I suggest that intersectionality could potentially be a useful approach to examine privilege and privileged groups who have mostly remained unmarked. Intersectionality could help understand how this privilege is produced and upheld. This argument stems from the premise that all identities and social locations are intersectional. It would be useful to reflect on and advance intersectionality as a more comprehensive theoretical and methodological framework able to explain not only experiences of marginalisation but also of privilege and social structures

1 This chapter is based on the analytical overview of my doctoral dissertation, entitled "Intersectional disadvantage and privilege in the Estonian labour market: an analysis of work narratives of Russian-speaking women and Estonian men" (2015).

which sustain this privilege. Studying elites and more particularly, privileged men, is useful because the privileged position of these groups in the social hierarchy allows them to make significant material and cultural impact on the world. It is therefore crucial to understand how this power operates and is maintained (Donaldson and Poynting 2013), by disrupting the invisibility of intersectional privilege, or as Robinson (2000, 1) puts it, "[m]aking the normative visible as a category embodied in gendered and racialized terms can call into question the privileges of unmarkedness."

My aim in this chapter is to reflect on using an intersectional perspective to study privileged groups. The discussion in this chapter is based on my doctoral research on intersectional inequalities in the context of work and careers (Aavik 2015). As part of this research, I studied career narratives of white ethnic majority male managers in Estonia – a group I termed intersectionally privileged (Aavik 2015, 38). I aimed to understand how intersectional privilege figures in the narratives of these men and how it produces advantages for them in the context of work and careers. I was interested in how they "do intersectionality" (Lutz 2015, 41). Understanding power relations, inequalities and privilege from an intersectional perspective is important in the context of work and careers, as these are key sites where gender and other intersecting inequalities are reproduced as well as contested in the society.

In this chapter, I elaborate on one particular methodological issue that I faced when attempting to use intersectionality as a methodological framework in studying the narratives of Estonian male managers: invisibility of privilege in the narratives. I will suggest some potential solutions to this problem. This chapter seeks to contribute to a discussion on advancing intersectionality as a methodology in qualitative research focusing on studying privileged groups.

Intersectionality

The notion of intersectionality was originally coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 and was intended to address the fact that the experiences and struggles of women of colour were not adequately attended to by either feminist or anti-racist discourses. Crenshaw argued for the need to show how both gender and race (and other categories of difference) "interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's experiences" (Davis 2008, 68), as they "are located at the intersection of racism and sexism and their experiences could be reduced to neither" (Kantola 2009,16).

In contemporary gender and feminist studies, intersectional thinking has become almost taken for granted. Intersectionality has transformed how gender is being discussed (Shields 2008, 301). It is no longer acceptable to disregard differences within large social groups such as men and women and power imbalances linked to intersectional social positions that people occupy. Ways in which people identify themselves and are positioned in the social hierarchy in terms of these categories and their intersections, has implications for their ability to produce, negotiate and impose meanings in various social situations and settings, such as in the context of careers. Disregarding processes by which people become gendered, racialised, and classed etc. simultaneously and the implications this has for the production of individual selves as well as for the emergence and perpetuation of social hierarchies, will produce at best an incomplete or at worst, a distorted account of social reality. Instead, feminist intersectional approaches call for attention to ways in which gender and experiences of gender are shaped by other socially constructed categories.

Intersectionality, then, is conceptualised as "the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power" (Davis 2008, 68).

Intersectionality is distinct from additive approaches. Disadvantage and/or privilege that people experience, stemming from their position in the social hierarchy, is not cumulative, but interactional – "for example, racism is infected and changed by sexism for black women, and vice versa – the sexism they encounter is infected and changed by racism" (Bagilhole 2009, 50). In other words, intersectionality means mutually constitutive relations among social identities, that is, how "one category of identity, such as gender, takes its meaning as a category in relation to another", which means that "intersectional identities are defined in relation to one another" (Shields 2008, 302–303).

Several authors point to different levels of intersectional analysis that should be considered and conceptualised somewhat differently (see for example Crenshaw 1991; Cho, Crenshaw and McCall 2013). The two most distinct levels tend to be individual (i.e. examining intersections of categories in people's identities and experiences) and at the other end of the spectrum the structural/institutional level (examining ways in which inequalities are built into social structures and institutions). These levels are closely linked. Reflecting the ideas of several prominent intersectionality scholars, Lewis (2009, 207) notes: "thinking 'intersectionally' [. . .] involves thinking simultaneously at level of structures, dynamics and subjectivities; that it conjoins rhetorics of 'voice' and presence and rhetorics of discourse and institutional

form; that it facilitates a form of feminist enquiry that aims to, and is capable of, capturing the complexity and multiplicity of axes of oppression".

While the focus of intersectionality has traditionally been on marginalised groups, intersections produce both oppression and opportunity (Shields 2008, 302). Thus, intersectionality could be useful to explore how some (privileged) groups reinforce and retain their position of power and privilege in the society. Choo and Ferree (2010, 133) argue that "intersectional analysis should offer a method applying to all social phenomena, not just the inclusion of a specifically subordinated group". They therefore suggest that inequality should not be reduced to diversity, as methodologically, inclusion of marginalised groups "fetishizes study of "difference" without necessarily giving sufficient attention to its relation to unmarked categories, especially to how the more powerful are defined as normative standards" (Choo and Ferree 2010,133).

Finally, it should be mentioned, without being able to go into further detail on this, that intersectionality has also been recognised as a contested theoretical framework, for various reasons. For example, queer and sexuality studies scholars argue that in studying how categories relate to each other, binaries are often reproduced (Taylor, Hines and Casey 2010, 2).

Understanding Privilege through Intersectionality

A key impetus behind my research on the careers of Estonian male managers was that the role of privileged groups, such as ethnically/racially and otherwise unmarked men working in management positions in sustaining and reproducing social inequalities, is of great significance (Collinson and Hearn 1994; Aavik 2015). In the context of work and careers, members of groups located at privileged intersections of gender, ethnicity, class and other categories are better able to correspond to the image of the ideal worker (Acker 1990) due to the invisibility and normalisation of this privilege. This is likely to help them advance in their careers better compared to other, less privileged groups.

To better understand this privilege conceptually, I turned to existing work in gender studies and beyond aiming to understand and expose privilege (see for example Pease 2010, 2014; Bailey 1998). I found particularly useful insights from critical race and whiteness studies, which have focused on exposing and challenging white privilege and normativity. Scholars of critical studies of whiteness have explored how whiteness is constructed as an invisible norm. The status of an intersectionally "unmarked" group (in terms of several categories simultaneously) is

conceptually similar to the phenomenon that critical whiteness studies scholars have observed: the way in which whiteness appears as a "racially neutral site" (Twine 1997, 228), or a "natural state of being" (Frankenberg 1997, 15–16). Critical whiteness studies aim to expose whiteness as a privileged category, displacing it from an unmarked status (Frankenberg 1993, 6; Twine and Warren 2000, 20). In addition to critical whiteness studies, inspiration could be drawn from other fields of academic inquiry which aim to expose normativity and privilege that remain mostly invisible. Fotopoulu (2012) and Pini and Pease (2013) suggest an engagement with queer theory, due to its "inherent concern with de-naturalizing normative categories" (Pini and Pease 2013, 12). Stemming from a similar logic, there have been suggestions to use insights from critical heterosexualities studies and disabilities studies (Bridges 2019).

Advantages experienced by the subjects of my study in the context of work and careers stemmed simultaneously from their privileged position on the axes of gender, race and ethnicity as well as their managerial status.[2] These categories intersect and shape each other and help to secure the continued hegemony of people positioned as such in the labour market as well as in the social hierarchy more broadly. I proposed the term intersectional privilege (Aavik 2015, 38) to describe the situation where various social categories contribute to privilege at the same time. I understand as intersectional privilege the opportunities and advantages that are systematically available to individuals or groups in particular social contexts and situations due to their privileged position on the axes of gender, age, ethnicity, race and other relevant social categories simultaneously. A particular feature of intersectional privilege is that the mechanisms, by which it is perpetuated, tend to remain invisible and uncontested by members of intersectionally privileged groups themselves, and often also by others. This is possible because members of intersectionally privileged groups remain unmarked. Such structural advantage is unearned and involves a sense of entitlement and lack of awareness of being in possession of it (Bailey 1998, 108, 113; Pease 2014, 21). The particular positioning of the interviewed Estonian male managers in relation to other groups in the Estonian labour market leaves them unmarked in most situations in terms of multiple categories simultaneously, which constitutes a key source of their intersectional privilege.

In this instance, it may look like this is a case of cumulation of privileges – an additive approach that intersectionality rejects. These privileges however do

2 Certainly, other categories played a role (the list is potentially endless), but were not in the explicit focus of my study. In the context of my study, I identified gender and ethnicity as the most relevant ones. The inclusion of more categories would have complicated the analysis significantly.

not simply "pile up", but there is a complex interplay between them. The particular categories at play reinforce and give meaning to each other – in the case of my research participants, their Estonian ethnicity was shaped by their gender as men and vice versa. These categories interact to render each other invisible. For the Estonian male managers in my study, performing masculinity in the context of work and career is facilitated by their association with the dominant ethnic group and their high position in the work hierarchy. Hence, it becomes important to examine in detail, how these categories interact and mutually support each other to produce privilege.

This type of scholarship can be located in what Brekhus (1998) has termed as the sociology of the unmarked. He calls for sociology to pay more attention to the "'politically unnoticed' and taken for granted elements of social reality" (Brekhus 1998, 34). The subject matter of this kind of research and intersectional privilege qualify as unmarked elements of social reality. Yet, remaining unmarked has become increasingly difficult, even for the traditionally unmarked groups, such as white middle-class men. I will come back to this point in my concluding remarks.

Using Intersectionality to Study Privileged Men's Career Narratives: The Problem of the Invisibility of Privilege

Intersectionality, while a valuable theoretical approach, has introduced a variety of methodological challenges, as a number of scholars have admitted (McCall 2005, 1772; Bowleg 2008, 312; Shields 2008, 301, 305; Ludvig 2006, 246). In this section, I discuss, based on my own research, some particular issues pertaining to applying intersectionality to study privileged groups, specifically, intersectionally privileged men's career narratives. More particularly, I examine the methodological problem of invisibility of privilege.

The research material that informs this discussion originates from interviews with ethnic Estonian men working as middle and top managers in the private and public sectors. I conducted 15 interviews in 2012–2013, as part of my doctoral dissertation. Research participants were aged between 27 and 74 (average age was 42). Most of them were based in the capital Tallinn, with two located in another major town of Estonia. The central theme of the interviews focused on the work and careers of the managers. I was interested in how they

make sense of the progression of their careers, including, importantly their ascent to managerial positions.

A number of feminist and critical men and masculinities studies scholars have highlighted methodological issues pertaining to differently positioned research participants in feminist research (see for example Pini and Pease 2013, 6; Hearn 2013, 27; Kirsch 1999). Certainly, the way I as a researcher was positioned in relation to my research participants, shaped my interaction with them, including their self-presentations. I encountered some issues having to do with "studying up" (Harding and Norberg 2005; Donaldson and Poynting 2013)[3] related to power imbalance of the interaction, with them having more power resources at their disposal.

As a general principle, feminist researchers seek to reduce power hierarchies between the researcher and research participants in the research process and empower the latter. However, these aims do not always apply in the case of studying elites, which is an instance of "studying up" (Harding and Norberg 2005; Donaldson and Poynting 2013). Indeed, the concern is reversed here and the question becomes how not to consolidate the privileged position enjoyed be these groups by placing them at the centre of research and making their perspectives heard. Instead, studying up should involve identifying "practices of power and how they shape daily social relations" (Harding and Norberg 2005, 2011).

While my data collection and analysis followed key tenets of narrative research (Lawler 2002; Gubrium and Holstein 2008, 2009), the insights below apply to qualitative methods in social sciences more generally.

Defining the Problem

Intersectionality scholars maintain that "the relationship between categories is an open empirical question" (Hancock 2007, 64), and as such, for the researcher to identify. The principal task of intersectionality researchers is to make "the intersections between ethnicity, sex/gender, sexual orientation (to name just a few) and the social inequality related to these identities, explicit" (Bowleg 2008, 322). It is this central task that has produced a number of methodological challenges for researchers attempting to apply intersectionality as a

3 For a discussion of methodological issues in interviewing powerful men, such as senior managers and corporate elites, see Hearn 2013, 28–29.

methodological tool. This includes issues having to do with identifying social categories in the personal narratives.

To study how socially constructed categories such as race/ethnicity and gender are manifested in the narratives and relate to each other, as required by the intersectional approach (Shields 2008, 307), I turned to a specific method, known as "asking the other question" (Matsuda 1991, 1189). As the first step, this involves identifying relevant social categories in the account and analysing how each of them shapes the narrative separately (Bilge 2009, 5–7). As the second step, it is then considered how these categories interact with each other (Choo and Ferree 2010, 135; Bilge 2009, 5–7).

It was when attempting to conduct this crucial step of the analysis where I ran into trouble: it was nearly impossible to identify explicit references to social categories, such as gender or ethnicity in the career narratives of the Estonian male managers – they were simply absent. The interviewees tended to talk about themselves (and often, about others) typically without any explicit references to gender and ethnicity (the primary categories I was interested in),[4] despite the fact that they were interviewed as Estonian male managers. Because of such silences and absences regarding these categories and the interviewees' self-presentation as just generic people or managers in their career narratives, it is difficult to illustrate this problem with short and concise interview extracts – rather, this becomes evident when examining their entire narratives. However, talking about the self in generic terms became more evident in their occasional references to differently positioned others (e.g. colleagues) as gendered or ethnicised or when I explicitly brought in gender and ethnicity. I will present a few examples of this later on.

This assumption behind the idea of intersectionality – the presence and visibility of social categories in people's narratives of their lives – and my struggle to find these categories in the narratives of this privileged group led me at first to treat these narratives as somehow deficient, in terms of their content and the ways they were produced. I initially located the problem in specific gender performances of the group I was studying and the kinds of narratives this produced. I was confronted with "configurations of masculinity that prize stoicism and inexpressiveness" (Bridges 2013, 54). This often resulted in rather truncated narratives and particularly in some interviews took the form of exchanges of questions and short answers, as several interviewees preferred short and

4 It is worth noting here that a particular feature of the Estonian language contributed to the absence of the category of gender from their talk: there is no grammatical gender in Estonian, the same pronoun is used to signify "he" and "she". Hence, the gender of other people (colleagues, superiors etc.) they talked about in their narratives could not be discerned, unless they used first names to refer to these people.

concrete ways of expression, rather than presenting their experiences in narrative form. Among other issues, this brevity may have had to do with the fact that most interviewees presented almost exclusively only their work-related selves, and refrained from dwelling on how other parts of their lives might have shaped their careers and work-related identities.

While these factors certainly played a role, I would argue that this was not the main problem in this case. Instead, it may be useful to ask questions about the specificities of intersectionality as an analytical approach.

The expectation for the presence of categories in the interview material, which is taken as a prerequisite for an intersectional analysis, seems to imply that people always make references to social categories in speaking about themselves and their experiences in some form or another: for example, in the case of my interviewees, talking about themselves as men or Estonians and as Estonian men. Based on my research with intersectionally privileged men, I challenge this assumption and claim that such a self-presentation where the speaker marks their identity more explicitly is rather a feature of narratives produced by marginalised individuals and groups.

Stemming from the assumption that if categories matter, they will be visible in narratives, Jimerson and Oware (2006) have studied how Black male basketball players invoked the categories of gender and race in their talk, and identified specific ways of doing Black masculinity. However, an implicit feature in identifying these categories and their relationships for researchers in this context seems to have been the fact that while the category "man" remains unmarked in most situations, the category "Black" does not. In this case, the racialisation of these men made them and their masculinity marked. This helped to make visible the otherwise unmarked category of masculinity. Thereby, these men's doing of intersectionality was visible and particular, as manifested in their talk.

In the case of the white (non-racialised) ethnic majority Estonian men in my research however, this mechanism did not apply, as they remain unmarked in most situations in terms of important categories, such as gender, ethnicity, age, able-bodiedness, and sexual orientation, to name a few, certainly in the context of managerial work and careers in the Estonian labour market. I argue that this constitutes a source of their intersectional privilege. Hence, neither of these categories functioned to mark others or make them visible. And this is reflected in their career narratives.

Based on these insights, it could then be concluded that the assumption that categories should be visible in narratives, in some form or another, if they are relevant, applies primarily to those identity positions, where at least one category is present in its marked dimension, for instance, "Black man", as in the example above. It is in the accounts of individuals positioned as such, that the categories are likely to be more immediately visible or more explicitly articulated, or at least

more recognisable to researchers. The invisibility of categories in the case of intersectionally privileged groups who are in possession of considerable power resources – such as the Estonian male managers I interviewed – means that we may not be directly able to see this in the interview material. In other words, narratives originating from such individuals and groups may not provide enough evidence of how their social power and privilege functions discursively. This problem is eloquently articulated by Sally Robinson in her work on white masculinity in the contemporary USA: "Masculinity and whiteness retain their power as signifiers and as social practices because they are opaque to analysis, the argument goes; one cannot question, let alone dismantle, what remains hidden from view" (Robinson 2000, 1).

What do these insights then tell us about intersectionality and its usefulness as a methodological approach to understand all identities and social positions, particularly the privileged? Can it be concluded from this that intersectionality as a tool is more suitable for analysing narratives exhibiting certain features than others? It does seem indeed, that methodologically, intersectional research so far is better equipped to explore marked identity positions – that is, to study those who differ from the (invisible) norm. This stems from the particularities of the origins of intersectionality – as a conceptual tool to understand marginalised identities and groups.

Potential Solutions

Below I discuss some ways in which the problem may be tackled, based on my analysis of the narratives of Estonian male managers. Some of these solutions I resorted to myself while others are simply ideas to be developed further and tested on empirical data.

Considering (Narrative) Context

One of the most obvious solutions involves following the key tenets of qualitative research – understanding qualitative interviews as social products that are always situated. This is a central principle in narrative research as well. Narrative scholars call for interpreting narratives in context or in environments in which they are produced (Gubrium and Holstein 2008, 2009; Phoenix 2008). This environment can refer to the more immediate context, such as the interview setting and the way in which the interviewer is positioned in relation to the interviewees. Importantly, it also refers to the larger social, political and cultural settings. In

other words, this means viewing personal narratives "within a larger sociohistorical context of structural inequality that may not be explicit or directly observable in the data" (Bowleg 2008, 320).

Locating the narratives in a larger social and historical context has also been suggested by some intersectionality scholars to help understand why research participants might articulate certain categories more explicitly while remaining more implicit regarding others, as Yuval-Davis (2006, 203) notes: "in specific historical situations and in relation to specific people there are some social divisions that are more important than others in constructing specific positionings". Lewis, echoing discussions held at a prominent intersectionality conference held in 2009, highlights "the need to always pay consistent attention to the historical and social contexts in which the categories being invoked (analytically and/or experientially) are produced, made meaningful and deployed. The key point here is the need to address the political and this requires paying attention to which set of categories are brought into alliance and with what political agenda in mind" (Lewis 2009, 205). The implication is that context invites people to think about their experiences in certain ways, favouring invoking certain categories over others.

I followed this advice throughout my analysis to understand and explain the absence of categories of gender and ethnicity in the narratives of the Estonian male managers. This silence in these narratives was especially striking in contrast to interview material I collected in the first part of my doctoral thesis: narratives of Russian-speaking women in Estonia who were unemployed or performed manual work. Representatives of this latter group typically spoke of themselves as Russian-speakers or ethnic Russians, strongly emphasising ethnicity as an important dimension of their identity. They emphasised gender to a lesser extent; however, the presence of gender could be quite easily identified in segments of their narratives, for instance, where they invoked their identities as Russian mothers.

Certainly, understanding the social and political context of Estonia is helpful in interpreting these narratives and explaining why categories, particularly ethnicity, were salient in the narratives of the Russian-speaking women. For one, ethnicity is a very politicised category in Estonia. However, it is only "non-Estonians" who stand out as marked in terms of ethnicity in Estonia. Estonians remain in the status of an unmarked group. When making sense of their careers in the Estonian labour market, the interviewed Estonian male managers simply did not frame their experiences through the categories of ethnicity and gender. Also, the way in which the interviewees were positioned in relation to me as an interviewer was significant. In interviews with the Estonian male managers, ethnicity could have been silenced or treated as an irrelevant category because as Estonians, both the interviewees and myself we were positioned at the

privileged and unmarked end of the category of ethnicity. This was despite the fact that ethnicity (along with language) is a politicised category in Estonia (for more on this, see Aavik 2015, 24). The fact that ethnicity did not come up as a category in the work and career narratives, illustrates how people and groups at the privileged end of this category are still able to remain unmarked in terms of this social division, at least in the context of work and careers.

I suggest that some other contextual elements also played a role in shaping narratives of career paths in such a way that there were only minimal references to gender and ethnicity. For example, the neoliberal ideology prevalent in Estonia encourages conceptualising people as individuals not as members of a collective or group, while obscuring structural inequalities which create advantages and/or disadvantages for individuals positioned in certain ways. Relating to this, references to the categories may have also been absent because in the realm of professional work, focus is typically on the individual or professional worker and his/her achievements, not on gendered, racialised or ethnicised subjects (Chase 1995).

However, understanding the experiences of intersectionally privileged groups as shaped by the narrative environment in which they emerged, while taking us forward, is in my view only a limited solution to the problem of detecting how intersectional privilege manifests itself and what it means in personal narratives. For one, the suggestion to analyse narratives (of intersectionally privileged groups) in context in this case does not seem to be a particularly special solution, since all qualitative empirical data only makes sense in a context, and should always be interpreted in such a way. It is thus only a partial solution and not specific enough to deal with the specificities of the narratives of intersectionally privileged groups. Another potential problem of using only this approach involves the risk that the researcher departs too much from the actual narratives themselves and imposes external constructs on the data, in attempting to explain intersectional privilege and its sources. Crucially, this kind of analysis might end up being too speculative, where absences are accounted for by invoking only some contextual factors and not others. The process by which the researcher makes these decisions often remains invisible.

The task of making "explicit the often implicit experiences of intersectionality, even when participants do not express the connections" (Bowleg 2008, 322), also invokes other problems related to interpretation of qualitative data. For example, it disregards the ways in which participants make sense of their own lives and experiences.

Absence of Social Categories in Narratives as an Indication of Intersectional Privilege

One way to attempt to tackle the problem is to think that these silences or absences – the fact there is simply nothing to grasp in terms of categories in the narratives – are significant findings themselves. Even further, this could be thought of as the proof we are looking for that points to the privileged position of the research subjects – the fact that they tend to construct themselves as generic human beings and that their narratives do not contain experiences of discrimination or othering based on gender, ethnicity or other categories is evidence of their privilege. This is because other, more disadvantaged groups do not have the luxury of thinking of and presenting themselves as generic human beings. On the other hand, the narratives of the privileged may include references to other people and groups as gendered, racialised, ethnicised etc., which can tell us something about their own privileged position.

Here it is insightful to turn again to the field of critical whiteness studies, which I referred to earlier in this chapter, noting how scholars studying whiteness deal with an issue that is conceptually similar to intersectional privilege. I have found this body of work to be more insightful than much scholarship in critical studies of men and masculinities in examining and challenging invisible norms (whiteness, in this case). In critical whiteness studies, it is the unmarked nature, normative status and ordinariness of whiteness which are seen as defining features of white privilege. While this is an important insight, it poses methodological problems, as scholars of whiteness have experienced. They have noted that methodologically, to expose and challenge whiteness, as an unmarked category but at the same time a significant source of privilege for subjects associated with this category, can be extremely challenging. How to capture something that invisible in social interaction, including in interview settings?

While the absence of categories in narratives of the privileged certainly does point to their privileged position, it is a rather general statement and does not say anything specific about this privilege. Thus, to simply conclude that this is what counts as evidence for an intersectionally privileged social position or identity does not seem to be sufficient. The question still remains if there is anything else that can be detected in these accounts that helps to point to intersectional privilege and how it works.

Interview Guide and Interview Process

Some scholarship discussing intersectionality as a methodology discusses points to the potential solutions lying in research design. More specifically, we could think whether there are ways to design the interview guide and carry out interviews in a way that helps us to detect what we are looking for.

One of the main methodological challenges in compiling the interview guide and preparing questions to be asked from research participants is "how to ask questions about experiences that are intersecting, interdependent and mutually constitutive, without resorting, even inadvertently, to an additive approach?" (Bowleg 2008, 314).

This issue has been approached differently by intersectionality scholars. For example, Windsong (2016), interested in meanings that people assign to neighbourhood through race and gender, first asked questions about these categories separately, followed by questions about how research participants see these as intersecting. She however notes that the intersectionality questions did not work well and caused confusion among her interviewees (Windsong 2016, 9). Windsong (2016) also asked her research participants to bring examples of situations where gender or race was more important for them. Bowleg (2008, 314), however takes an opposite approach, suggesting that research participants should not be asked to isolate or rank dimensions of their identities. Instead, she argues that "a truly intersectional question would simply ask the respondent to tell about her experience without separating each identity" (Bowleg 2008, 315). She suggests, based on her study of the experiences of Black lesbian women from an intersectional perspective, two key points to which researchers should attend when constructing questions about intersectionality. "First, questions about intersectionality should focus on meaningful constructs such as stress, prejudice, discrimination rather than relying on demographic questions alone", as "concepts such as race and class are socially constructed, and as such, explain virtually nothing in and of themselves" and second, "questions should be intersectional in design" – they should stress the interdependence and mutuality of identities rather than imply that "identities are independent, separate and able to be ranked" (Bowleg 2008, 316).

Bowleg's approach links best with my research design and specifically, with the narrative method I used. My interview questions revolved around central themes of work and careers. I asked my research participants to narrate their work experiences and career paths in detail, without drawing attention to social categories myself, at least not initially. However, if they spontaneously made such references in their narratives, I pursued these further. After they had finished telling the stories of their work and careers, in the later stages of

the interview, I asked about their views on gender (and to a lesser degree, ethnic inequalities) in the Estonian labour market. Talking about gender however, meant not explicitly talking about themselves as gendered beings but focusing on women's "difference" from the male norm and framing gender inequality as an issue that concerns women. In the following excerpt, a research participant talks about his female colleague and women in managerial positions more generally:

> It is impressive how she [an older female manager in the same organisation] is able to handle [her subordinates] [. . .]. She is a balancing and motherly figure in this predominantly male company.

The same interviewee, when presenting his own career and work as a manager, does not however refer to his gender when describing how he relates to his colleagues and copes with work. He and others constructed themselves simply as people or managers, not as *Estonian male* managers, silencing their gender, ethnicity and other categories in the context of careers.

In the following extract, Russian-speaking women were not only constructed as different, but also inferior, in relation to the implicitly present Estonian male norm:

> Russian women for example are like . . . very dutiful and fast workers. [. . .] But some people will never become independent engineers, they need someone to be there to tell them how to do things. Well, people are different, but mostly those people who never become independent, are women however.

Unlike in this excerpt, in their descriptions of themselves, the interviewees do not stand out as men or Estonians.

The question of whether researchers should address intersectionality in interviews directly or refrain from doing so (Windsong 2016, 9) is a difficult one. It relates to the methodological question of "how should researchers design interview questions that reflect both the research interests and also allow participants to share their own experiences in the most valid manner?" (Windsong 2016, 9).

Explicitly addressing intersectionality in interviews may be tricky, as it is first and foremost an academic concept and does not necessarily resonate with people's lived experience (Windsong 2016, 9). The social categories that people are grouped into and identify with "are interdependent and mutually constitutive (i.e. intersectional [. . .]), rather than independent and uni-dimensional" (Bowleg 2008, 312). This means that it may be difficult to distinguish how these categories figure separately in people's lived experiences and narratives of their lives.

These considerations shaped my choice not to make my interviews about gender, ethnicity and their intersections, but rather letting research participants present and frame their experiences in ways that seemed most meaningful to them. Keeping the themes of work and careers central to the interviews, rather than directly focusing on gender and ethnicity, was important also for other reasons, for example having to do with recruiting potential research participants. Approaching Estonian male managers with a request to interview them about what being positioned as an Estonian man means to them, would likely have confused them and may not have been considered a legitimate request in the Estonian context. Some scholars have documented challenges of interviewing white people about their whiteness. Frankenberg (1993, 23), for example, encountered bewilderment from the part of research participants when asked about their whiteness – this was a "'taboo' topic that generated areas of memory lapse, silence, shame, and evasion". Similar insights apply to the context of my study – being positioned as an Estonian man does not appear for most people to be significant or special (enough) identity to study in the Estonian context, in contrast to, for example, asking Russian-speaking women in Estonia to talk about their experiences related to ethnicity and gender, which can be seen as a more legitimate inquiry, as this group does not appear as "ordinary", but stands out as "different".

These insights suggest that explicitly asking about gender, ethnicity and other dimensions of identity and their intersections, particularly in the case of privileged groups or refraining from asking such questions in interviews, both have certain shortcomings and may not help to arrive at narratives in which the privilege and power of research participants is clearly discernible.

Turning to other Research Methodologies and Methods

In addition to asking questions about the particularities of intersectionality and its application to studying intersectionally privileged groups, it may also be that the specifics of the narrative approach may not encourage the emergence of social categories in the narratives of the privileged. As already suggested in the previous section, narrative approaches favour minimal (prior) structuring of interviews by the researcher, open interview questions and relatively little explicit guidance from the interviewer, other than introducing topics to talk about and encouraging research participants to describe their experiences at length (Jovchelovitch and Bauer 2000). Research participants' own meanings and ways of framing are prioritised, rather than structuring interviews according to researchers' concepts and theoretical interests.

Also, narrative analysis might be limiting because of what the method encourages us to notice and study. Narrative analysis is particularly suitable for examining how people present their lives and experiences in storied formats, and how they talk about their past and present selves. However, members of privileged groups may have never seen themselves as marked in any way throughout their lives, which means that more detailed attention to narratives in this case may not be helpful. Thus, an intersectional narrative approach might not yield findings that are nuanced enough to detect more subtle features of talk that might be of relevance to tackle the problem discussed here. There might be some special features present in the accounts of the unmarked which an intersectional narrative approach is unable to capture well.

It may then be that other qualitative methods could be more fruitful in this case which pay more detailed attention to language and smaller units of talk, such as discourse analysis or conversation analysis. To end this section, I will briefly consider the latter.

Emerging from the microsociological tradition, inspired by the work of Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel, conversation analysis (see for example Heritage 2008; Heritage and Clayman 2011; Liddicoat 2007) is a method that seeks to capture how people construct meaning in everyday conversation, in micro-interactions. Typically, naturally occurring data is used to study this (as opposed to material obtained through an artificially created interview situation).

Conversation analysis pays close attention to segments of text by understanding talk as action, focusing on immediate consequences of utterances and on what participants accomplish in an interaction. By this more detailed focus, this approach could help better understand the discursive means through which speakers conceal how power operates in interactions and ways in which normality is accomplished. This approach might provide opportunities for studying ways in which ordinariness and normality that are key features of intersectional privilege are in fact accomplished and understand the work that goes into it.

Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter has focused on methodological questions pertaining to the study of intersectional privilege (Aavik 2015), drawing on my previous research on the work experiences and career paths of Estonian men working in managerial positions. Specifically, I have discussed how an intersectional approach could be used in qualitative research to make sense of the lives and experiences of

the privileged – a thus far relatively unexamined angle, given that intersectionality's theoretical and methodological origins and empirical focus have overwhelmingly been on marginalised groups.

The chapter began with an introduction of the notion of intersectionality and the concept of intersectional privilege. I then attempted to outline the methodological problem of invisibility of privilege: privileged groups – such as white middle-class ethnic majority men – do not tend to construct their lives and experiences through categories of gender, ethnicity, race, class etc. Their narratives exhibit silences and absences regarding these categories. This stems from the way these groups are positioned in the social hierarchy: the privileged ends of the categories of gender, race and class they are associated with – as male, white, ethnic majority and middle-class – are typically seen as generic and normative, unmarked and hence invisible. Methodologically, it is rather challenging to identify something that is unmarked, as a number of critical whiteness studies scholars have noted about whiteness, which has remained an elusive category to understand and also to bring up in interview settings with people identified as white. Yet, exposing privilege and ways in which it works is a crucial task, as "privilege works best when it goes unrecognized" (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 256).

How should we then examine accounts lacking explicit references to social categories, which seems to be a characteristic feature of narratives produced by unmarked privileged groups? I discussed four different angles which may be helpful in tackling the issue, outlining the potential and limitations of each of these: 1) understanding narratives as situated social products and relying on a broader social, political and cultural context for providing explanatory power 2) considering the absence of categories as a significant finding in itself and deciding that this is the defining feature of intersectional privilege 3) developing a research design, including interview questions that would better help to identify privilege in personal narratives, including asking about intersectionality and privilege directly 4) turning to other methodologies and research methods, notably those that explicitly focus on language and smaller segments of talk to identify how power and privilege work in people's accounts of their lives.

Each of these approaches offers promising opportunities, yet, also entails certain problems. Despite these difficulties, we should not abandon intersectionality as a methodology and a tool to study the lives of the privileged and ways in which privilege manifests itself in their narratives, but continue methodological discussions on how to advance intersectionality. Intersectionality could be a useful approach to study all identities and social positions, including the privileged and unmarked ones, given that all identities and social positions are intersectional, even if some do not appear as such. We need to think

of better methods by which the unmarked elements of social life, including unmarked social categories, could be seen in people's representations of their lives. At the same time, these methodological developments must consider changing social conditions which shape individual performances of gender, intersecting with other categories.

There are currently some interesting and significant changes taking place in Western societies regarding the construction and presentation of masculinities, which invite us to rethink how we study men and masculinities. As a substantial development, masculinity is increasingly becoming more visible (Bridges and Pascoe 2014; Bridges 2019). This is aptly illustrated by the idea of hybrid masculinity, which involves privileged Western "men's selective incorporation of performances and identity elements associated with marginalized and subordinated masculinities and femininities" (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 246). Masculinity, then, is gradually emerging from its status of an unmarked category (see for example, Robinson 2000). This is also true of other forms of privilege, such as ethnicity, class etc. and their intersections. For example, whiteness may gradually become a (more) marked category and displaced from its normative status. For example, in contemporary culture, we are witnessing the gradual marking of white middle-class men as a distinct identity and social position, associated with considerable power resources. This has occurred largely as a result of the mainstreaming of some feminist ideas and in the context of the recent #MeToo movement which have critically engaged with such intersectionally privileged men and masculinities. This means that it is becoming more and more difficult for people positioned as white middle-class men to remain invisible in terms of gender, race and class and claim the status of a generic human being.

These developments are likely to change the ways in which privileged groups discursively produce their selves and identities. However, as Bridges and Pascoe (2014, 256) argue, "when privilege becomes visible [. . .] it does not necessarily cease to exist". Instead, inequalities have the tendency to adapt and endure (Bridges 2019). While hybrid masculinity involves borrowing elements from marginalised groups, men who engage in this process, are able to retain their privilege (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 246).

In the context of the focus of this chapter, this suggests that even if intersectionally privileged groups talk about themselves through gender, ethnicity, race, class and other relevant categories and thereby make these categories explicitly visible in their narratives – it does not mean that their privilege and power are necessarily challenged. If my interviewees explicitly spoke about themselves (not only in the interview setting but in everyday life as well) as gendered and ethnicised beings, and framed their career paths through these

categories, would this somehow challenge their power and privilege in the labour market and society more broadly? It might be that such self-presentations may make it harder for them to remain intersectionally invisible in some contexts, which their work-related success partly depends on. Yet, there would likely be other discursive and material practices through which they sustain their privilege.

References

Aavik, Kadri. 2015. *Intersectional Disadvantage and Privilege in the Estonian Labour Market: An Analysis of Work Narratives of Russian-Speaking Women and Estonian Men*. PhD diss., Tallinn: Tallinn University Press.

Acker, Joan. 1990. "Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations." *Gender & Society* 4(2): 139–158.

Bagilhole, Barbara. 2009. "For Diversity Against Discrimination: From Gender Mainstreaming, through Multiple Discrimination, to Intersectionality." In *Teaching Intersectionality: Putting Gender at the Centre*, edited Franken, Martha, Alison E. Woodward, Anna Cabo Cardona, and Barbara Bagilhole, 45–52. ATHENA3 Advanced Thematic Network in Women's Studies in Europe. University of Utrecht and Centre for Gender Studies, Stockholm University.

Bailey, Alison. 1998. "Privilege: Expanding on Marilyn Frye's Oppression." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 29(3): 104–119.

Bilge, Selma. 2009. "Smuggling Intersectionality into the Study of Masculinity: Some Methodological Challenges [Conference paper]". Presented at *Feminist Research Methods: An International Conference*, University of Stockholm, 4–9 February, 2009.

Bowleg, Lisa. 2008. "When Black + Lesbian + Woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman: The Methodological Challenges of Qualitative and Quantitative Intersectionality Research." *Sex Roles* 59 (5–6): 312–325.

Brekhus, Wayne. 1998. "A sociology of the unmarked: Redirecting our focus." *Sociological Theory* 16(1): 34–51.

Bridges, Tristan. 2013. "Issues of Intimacy, Masculinity and Ethnography". In *Men, Masculinities and Methodologies*, edited by Barbara Pini, and Bob Pease, 53–63. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bridges, Tristan, and C. J. Pascoe. 2014. "Hybrid Masculinities: New Directions in the Sociology of Men and Masculinities". *Sociology Compass* 8 (3): 246–258.

Bridges, Tristan. 2019. "The Costs of Exclusionary Practices in Masculinities Studies." *Men and Masculinities* 22(1): 16–33.

Chase, Susan E. 1995. *Ambiguous empowerment: The work narratives of women school superintendents*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Cho, Sumi, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall. 2013. "Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38(4): 785–810.

Choo, Hae Yeon, and Myra Marx Ferree. 2010. "Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities." *Sociological Theory* 28(2): 129–149.

Collinson, David, and Jeff Hearn. 1994. "Naming Men as Men: Implications for Work, Organization and Management." *Gender, Work and Organization* 1(1): 2–22.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140: 139–167.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1241–1299.

Davis, Kathy. 2008. "Intersectionality as buzzword: A Sociology of Science Perspective on What Makes a Feminist Theory Successful." *Feminist Theory* 9(1): 67–85.

Donaldson, Mike, and Scott Poynting. 2013. "Peering Upwards: Researching Ruling-Class Men." In *Men, Masculinities and Methodologies*, edited by Barbara Pini, and Bob Pease, 157–169. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fotopoulou, Aristea. 2012. "Intersectionality Queer Studies and Hybridity: Methodological Frameworks for Social Research." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 13: 19–32.

Frankenberg, Ruth. 1993. *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Frankenberg, Ruth. 1997. *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Gubrium, Jaber F., and James A. Holstein. 2008. "Narrative Ethnography." In *Handbook of Emergent Methods*, edited by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy, 241–264. New York: Guilford Press.

Gubrium, Jaber F., and James A. Holstein. 2009. *Analyzing Narrative Reality*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. "When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm." *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1): 63–79.

Harding, Sandra, and Kathryn Norberg. 2005. "New Feminist Approaches to Social Science Methodologies: An Introduction." *Signs* 30(4): 2009–2015.

Hearn, Jeff. 2013. "Methods and Methodologies in Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities". In *Men, Masculinities and Methodologies*, edited by Barbara Pini and Bob Pease, 26–38. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Heritage, John. 2008. "Conversation Analysis as Social Theory." In *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*, edited by Bryan S. Turner, 300–320. Oxford: Blackwell.

Heritage, John, and Steven Clayman. 2011. *Talk in Action: Interactions, Identities, and Institutions*. Vol. 44. Oxford: Blackwell.

Jimerson, Jason B., and Matthew K. Oware. 2006. "Telling the Code of the Street: An Ethnomethodological Ethnography." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35(1): 24–50.

Jovchelovitch, Sandra, and Bauer, Martin. 2000. "Narrative Interviewing." In *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound*: *A Practical Handbook*, edited by Martin Bauer, and George Gaskell, 57–74. London: Sage.

Kantola, Johanna. 2009. "Tackling Multiple Discrimination: Gender and Crosscutting Inequalities in Europe." In *Teaching Intersectionality: Putting Gender at the Centre*, edited by Franken, Martha, Alison E. Woodward, Anna Cabo Cardona, and Barbara Bagilhole, 15–30. ATHENA3 Advanced Thematic Network in Women's Studies in Europe. University of Utrecht and Centre for Gender Studies, Stockholm University.

Kirsch, Gesa. 1999. *Ethical Dilemmas in Feminist Research: The Politics of Location, Interpretation, and Publication*. New York: State University of New York Press.
Lawler, Steph. 2002. "Narrative in Social Research." In: *Qualitative Research in Action*, edited by Tim May, 242–259. London: Sage.
Lewis, Gail. 2009. "Celebrating Intersectionality? Debates on a Multi-faceted Concept in Gender Studies: Themes from a Conference." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 16(3): 203–210.
Liddicoat, Anthony. 2007. *An Introduction to Conversation Analysis*. London and New York: Continuum.
Ludvig, Alice. 2006. "Differences Between Women? Intersecting Voices in a Female Narrative. " *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3): 245–258.
Lutz, Helma. 2015. "Intersectionality as a Method." *DiGeSt. Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies* 2(1–2): 39–44.
Lykke, Nina. 2010. *Feminist Studies: A Guide to Intersectional Theory, Methodology and Writing*. New York: Routledge.
Matsuda, Mari. 1991. "Beside My Sister, Facing the Enemy: Legal Theory out of Coalition." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1183–1192.
McCall, Leslie. 2005. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Signs*: *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30(3): 1771–1800.
Phoenix, Ann. 2008. "Analysing Narrative Contexts." In *Doing Narrative Research*, edited by Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire, and Maria Tamboukou, 65–78. London: Sage.
Pease, Bob. 2010. *Undoing Privilege: Unearned Advantage in a Divided World*. London, New York: Zed Books.
Pease, Bob. 2014. "Reconstructing Masculinity or Ending Manhood? The Potential and Limitations of Transforming Masculine Subjectivities for Gender Equality." In *Alternative Masculinities for a Changing World*, edited by Àngels Carabí, and Josep Armengol, 17–34. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
Pini, Barbara, and Bob Pease. 2013. "Gendering Methodologies in the Study of Men and Masculinities." *Men, Masculinities and Methodologies*, edited by Barbara Pini, and Bob Pease, 1–25. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Robinson, Sally. 2000. *Marked Men. White Masculinity in Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Shields, Stephanie A. 2008. "Gender: An Intersectionality Perspective." *Sex Roles* 59(5–6): 301–311.
Taylor, Yvette, Sally Hines, and Mark E. Casey. 2010. "Introduction." In *Theorizing Intersectionality and Sexuality*, edited by Yvette Taylor, Sally Hines, and Mark E. Casey, 1–12. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Twine, France W. 1997. "Brown-skinned White Girls: Class, Culture, and the Construction of White Identity in Suburban Communities." In *Displacing Whiteness Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, edited by Ruth Frankenberg, 214–244. Durham: Duke University Press.
Twine, France W., and Jonathan Warren. 2000. *Racing Research, Researching Race: Methodological Dilemmas in Critical Race Studies*. New York: New York University Press.
Windsong, Elena A. 2016. "Incorporating intersectionality into research design: an example using qualitative interviews." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 21(2): 135–147.
Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3): 193–209.

Josephine Hoegaerts

12 Historicising Political Masculinities and Careers

Abstract: This chapter focuses on a period in history in which 'being a politician' developed into a career-path, as representative politics became a matter of professional skill and expertise rather than a leisurely gentlemanly pursuit. It attempts to chart some ways in which the male career politician can be historicised, drawing on examples from the Belgian parliament in the long nineteenth century. Most importantly, it aims to show how this project of the 'historicisation' of masculinities and careers may be useful beyond the confines of the past, and how historical approaches can inform contemporary analyses of gender, the workplace, and gendered practices of political work. The chapter sketches how historians have adopted and adapted the influential model of 'hegemonic' masculinity and how it can be used to study modern (i.e. nineteenth and early twentieth century) careers in representative politics. From this vantage point, it reflects on the terminology of masculinity and its cultural work, how the vocabulary around it has changed and how contemporary concepts used in cultural, sociological and anthropological research can (and sometimes cannot) be mobilised for the study of particular histories. Focusing on the history of politics as an arena of professionalisation and (therefore) as a context in which masculinities were constructed and performed, the chapter aims to offer alternative analytical frameworks to understand both gender and career as processes subject to significant change.

Introduction

In 1849, French caricaturist Honoré Daumier drew and published a series of humorous images he entitled "Physionomie de l'Assemblée" ("Faces of Parliament"). The series shows a number of 'characters' to be observed from the gallery in the hemicycle such as that of Frédéric Lagrange (Figure 1). They show speakers orating, losing their patience, huffing like petulant children and gossiping frivolously. It is, all in all, not a very dignified depiction of a group of people who, as Marnix Beyen (2006) has pointed out, set great store by dignity and who increasingly defined their activities in parliament as an occupation or profession (De Smaele 2002). Although 'work' in politics would remain a matter for the wealthy elites throughout most of the nineteenth century, being a

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-013

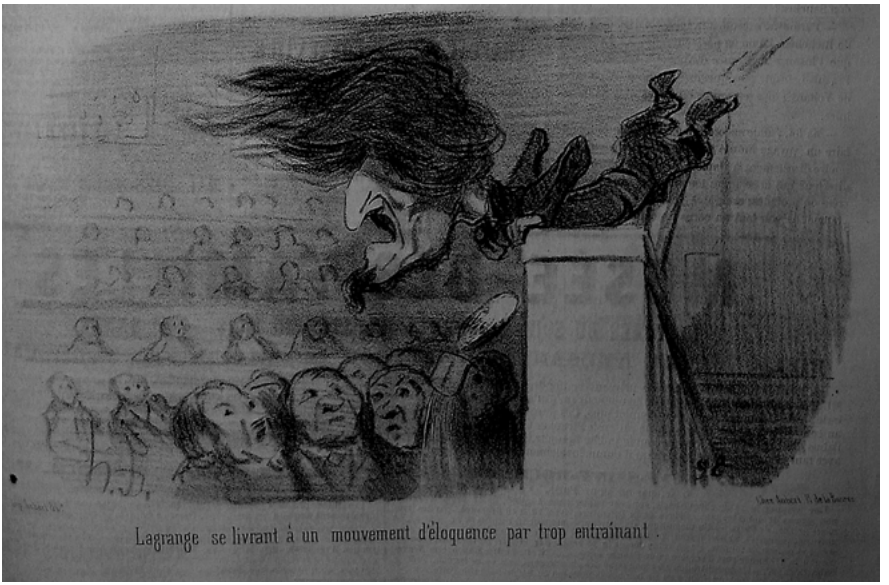

Figure 1: H. Daumier, " Lagrange carried away by a sudden, unprepared impulse of eloquence. ", Satirical image of a political representative at work, by Honoré Daumier. DR Number 1952 © www.daumier.org.

political actor in a representative democracy was not the natural result of belonging to the landed gentry. It required effort (to convince voters and fellow representatives), as well as service (to constituents and to the state) (Lauwers 2019). It had, in other words, become 'work' and came with reputational and potentially financial rewards as well as risks. It also increasingly showed different degrees of success between different hopefuls: some 'applicants' for the job of representative would come to have a long career in politics, and some would not. This is, essentially, what Daumier was showing and lampooning in his series. "Physionomie de l'Assemblée" humorously asked who had 'what it takes' to be a representative in a modern, parliamentary political system.

The actions, personalities and characteristics of nineteenth-century representatives in Europe's parliaments are hardly obscure. These are exactly the kind of 'great men' history has traditionally been written about. However, the focus of such histories has generally been on their ideas, the political decisions they made, the effect they had on policy or social change: they have been studied as making a mark on the world. It is only more recently that historians have shifted their attention to the more mundane, day-to-day practices and the less exceptional characteristics that also helped to make a political career. It mattered,

for example, as a number of social historians have shown, that all these (almost exclusively white and European) men hailed from a rather exalted social class and it mattered that well into the twentieth century they were indeed exclusively men (recently, e.g. Richter and Wolff 2018). As Daumier's caricatures show, the parliamentary 'dignity' he satirised was heavily modulated by gender and class (as well as ability and race, even if those may be less visible). Comparing his "physionomie de l'Assemblée" with another series on politically active women ("Les Bas Bleus", the Bluestockings) shows stark differences in how male and female political practice could be imagined, depicted and ridiculed. It also mattered that these men were active at a time when 'being a politician' became a career-path of sorts: their histories can and should also be studied in the context of the rise of upper-middle-class occupations and their professionalisation – a process that has been connected to changes in the discourses and practices of masculinity (as shown by, e.g. Ellis 2014). Much like science, medicine and law, the field of politics would increasingly become a matter of skill and expertise rather than a leisurely gentlemanly pursuit. This process developed in close interaction with changes in the ideals and practices of upper- and middle-class gendered embodiment as well as the rise of modern domesticity (Tosh 2007; Davidoff and Hall 1987). Men with political careers may have largely steered world politics, but the shape of those careers was forged on a far less grand stage, often much closer to home.

In what follows, I will attempt to chart out some ways in which the male career politician can be historicised in this manner, drawing on examples from the Belgian parliament in the long nineteenth century.[1] First, I will examine how historians have adopted and adapted the influential model of 'hegemonic' masculinity and how it can be used to study modern (i.e nineteenth and early twentieth century) careers in representative politics. Second, I will reflect on the terminology of masculinity and its cultural work, how the vocabulary around it has changed and how contemporary concepts used in cultural, sociological and anthropological research can (and sometimes cannot) be mobilised for the study of particular histories. The third and final section of the paper will zoom in on how historical approaches to men and masculinities can offer alternative analytical frameworks to understand gender as a 'process' and how this may aid

1 The choice for these cases is somewhat arbitrary: the Belgian parliamentary context is simply the one I am most familiar with. However, the Belgian case does present an interesting 'laboratory' for modern democracy in this period, as both country and legislative chamber were founded on explicitly modern principles, in 1830, and are therefore somewhat less guided by older national political traditions, as is the case for Britain and France. Background on the political history of Belgium can be found e.g. in Witte e.a. 2009.

in contextualising contemporary notions of masculinity and work. Most importantly, across these three sections, I hope to provide a rudimentary roadmap to existing practices of the historicisation of masculinity.

Hegemonic and Other Masculinities

As has been pointed out by various historians of gender and women, the history of masculinity is not so much unwritten as 'unmarked' (Dudink 1998): many forms of history writing have focused on great men and their great deeds. This seems true both for the heroic accounts of history in pre-modern times and for the histories written by the first generations of professional historians whose reliance on legal and political documents led to a renewed focus on the thoughts and actions of 'important men' (and who imagined their own profession as intrinsically masculine as well, Schnicke 2015; Smith 2000). It is only with the rise of women's history (and later gender history, Scott 1986) that it became clear that writing 'herstory' would not immediately lay bare the intrinsically gendered nature of the discipline's questions, methods and underlying assumptions. Throughout the 1980's and 90's, early attempts to historicise the men's lives next to which 'women's history' was taking place did appear, if in a somewhat fragmented fashion (e.g. Frevert 1991; Nye 1993; Theweleit 1977; Hall 1992; Rotundo 1993; Mosse 1996; Kimmel 1996; Griswold 1993; Delumeau and Roche 1990; Knibiehler 1987; Lenzen 1991).[2] Unsurprisingly, most of this work focuses either on the spaces where men and women were most intimately

2 Whilst numerous disciplines engage with the past as part of their enquiries in some way or other, it is perhaps useful here to point to a particularity of the historical discipline, in which understanding past processes, events or phenomena by 'historicising' (i.e. placing them in their historical context which is understood on its own terms) them is central. Or, as John Tosh puts it in an influential history primer, the historian's goal is always to show and cultivate *historical* awareness. "History as a disciplined enquiry aims to sustain the widest possible definition of memory, and to make the process of recall as accurate as possible, so that our knowledge of the past is not confined to what is immediately relevant. The goal is a resource with open-ended application, instead of a set of mirror-images of the present" (Tosh 2015). This does not imply that the outcomes of historical enquiry are completely divorced from current questions or concerns, but rather that current categories of thought are not assumed to exist or have 'mirror-images' in the past. For this volume, that would include categories such as gender, ethnicity or class: a historical approach would not 'look back' from the present and chart changes in the content or limits of those categories, but rather study societies in which these categories are absent, or in the process of emerging.

brought together (the home) or those where women were very explicitly excluded and boys were understood to 'become' men (most notably the army).

It is only from the mid-1990s onward that the question of masculinity (or masculinities) in history started to be asked systematically as a critically and historically relevant question. This was part of a more general move toward the critical study of 'elites' in response to the social histories of the lower classes, subalterns, disabled subjects, women, and others, that had been written since the 1960s (Handley, McWilliam and Noakes 2018). As Harry Brod (2002) has pointed out, masculinity studies can be approached as 'superordinate' studies. However, the appearance of an influential article by Victorianist and historiographer John Tosh, discussing the potential application of R.W. Connell's (1995) model of multiple and hegemonic masculinities to the study of history, played an important role in shifting historians' attention to masculinity as well – particularly in the English-speaking world (Tosh 1994). When Tosh asked "What Should Historians Do With Masculinity?", he pointed to some of Connell's analytical tools for an answer (particularly for the study of modern masculinities) but also drew attention to some of the specifically historical challenges to be tackled when studying masculinities in the past. His critical appraisal of the model of hegemonic masculinity as well as his work in adopting and adapting the model for historical research was followed up and expanded upon in several 'reviews' of the nascent field of the history of masculinity in the early 2000's (Francis 2002; Traister 2000; Harvey and Shepard 2005).

Since its publication, historians have taken up Tosh's suggestion that they should, indeed, 'do' something with masculinity with enthusiasm, and have continued to grapple with the challenge of applying Connell's Gramscian model of a hegemonic masculinity among other, plural, masculinities to historical cultures and societies, much like gender scholars, anthropologists and sociologists have continued to critique and refine Connell's model, which was reformulated most notably by the author herself in collaboration with James Messerschmidt in 2005 (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Meanwhile, other approaches to masculinity have also continued to yield interesting historical analysis for the modern period – sometimes in conversation, response or contradiction to the 'hegemonic' model (e.g. Frevert 2001; Rauch 2000; Corbin, Courtine and Vigarello 2009; Surkis 2006; Hagemann 2002; Solomon-Godeau 1997). Whilst older (pre-Marxist and pre-Darwinian) periods offer a very challenging context for this model, the more general notion that plural masculinities defined by the hierarchies among them (and not just between men and women) has proven to be a helpful perspective for these periods as well (e.g. Dinges et al. 2005; Lees 1994; Shepard 2006; Mazo Karras 2002). At the same time, studies of masculinity in all periods of history, including industrialised modernity, have shown problems in

adapting Connell's model to study the past and tried to come up with alternatives. The most thorough re-imagination of (hegemonic) masculinity 'as a category of historical analysis' is perhaps Ben Griffin's (2018) recent adoption and adaptation in *Gender & History*. "Hegemonic Masculinity as a Historical Problem" shows why the model of multiple and hierarchically organised masculinities has been so attractive to historians (Griffin 2018, 379). But it also lays bare a number of particularly historical ways in which the model is 'problematic' (380).

Building on critiques such as those of John Tosh, Alexandra Shepard and other historians, Griffin sets out to develop a new set of approaches to study masculinity in history. Its aim is to reconsider, rather than reject, the concept of hegemony, and to address some of the problems historians have faced in applying Connell's concept outright by offering an alternative framework to think about the power-relations between men. One that would enable us to deal with the main problems historians of masculinity seem to run into: societal specificity (how can a Marxist model work in a pre-capitalist society, for example), and fluidity (or more precisely: change over time, including significant change over long periods of time[3] – the central problem to any historical study). As such, his alternative framework does not consist of the formation of 'identities' or places within a hierarchical constellation of power, but rather of different 'processes' in which 'being a man' always appears as already in flux, as constantly changing. It therefore recognises that 'practices' and 'performances' of masculinity not only change slowly over time (as norms and expectations change) but also that "individual men do not continually perform the same masculinity" (384). The cultural work that goes into creating historically contingent masculinities is therefore not only performed by societies, but also by individuals (of all genders) and above all within particular communication communities, and is interpretative as well as performative (387). In other words, masculinity is performed in front of a particular

3 One important note to make here is that for a large part of history gender (as well as ethnicity or race) was not imagined to be a 'biological' category, and therefore the important work of 'deconstructing' gender and race, or showing their cultural, political, 'non-biological' character, necessarily takes on a different form. I will come back to the rise of the 'two-sex' model later in this paper. For now, it bears remembering that many categories that are now analysed as 'intersecting' with gender either only came into existence in the modern period (class, for example, exists in industrialized societies) or could not be imagined as free-standing or 'biological' categories (race, for example, was explained in terms of environmental determinism rather than biology until well into the nineteenth century; estate meant very different things for differently gendered and aged individuals).

(and co-constructive) audience of people with whom one shared ideas, norms, vocabularies, and indeed space.[4] Studying such a history of masculinity is, according to Griffin, "a fourfold operation".

> First, there is the process of cultural contestation whereby certain forms of masculinity are valorised [. . .]. Second, there is the process whereby access to the mechanisms that allow men to identify themselves with those masculinities is unequally distributed among members of that communication community. Third, there is the process by which the performance of a particular masculinity is accorded recognition by others [. . .]. The fourth operation of power occurs after this process of recognition: having been identified with a particular form of masculinity, the individual is then positioned in relation to sets of institutional practices, rewards and sanctions. (Griffin 2018, 387)

The consistent focus on 'processes' is important here: certain forms of masculinity 'are valorised' within particular communication communities, and that valorisation is a process, rather than a situation in which men find themselves. So is the unequal distribution of access to identification with certain embodiments of power: rather than being expressed by a category intersecting with gender (such as class, ability, ethnicity), the focus is on the process of distribution itself – this is most clearly exemplified in the way the framework opens up ways to also think of the way age (a category that even now, in times of biological determinism, is never understood as static) modulates and shapes performances and readings of masculinity. Focusing on such broadly defined processes does not offer clear 'concepts' precisely because it refuses to define or even name 'categories' that can be deployed over time. Rather it recognises that, as L.P. Hartley famously put it "the past is a foreign country, they do things differently there" – and those things include understanding, experiencing and 'doing' what constituted being a man.

So how do these frameworks apply to the masculinity that we are interested in here? Arguably, the modern professional politician or parliamentary representative is one of the most often and most closely analysed figures in history. Aside from the many 'great man'-type histories that have been written about statesmen, recent works on their gendered practices and characteristics have largely led the way in establishing the history of masculinity (next to prolific work on military men, and far fewer on e.g. farmers or labourers) (e.g. Kennedy and McCormack 2007; Dudink, Hagemann and Tosh 2004; Dudink, Hagemann and Tosh 2007; Griffin 2012; Hoegaerts 2014). In many ways, these modern and

4 Griffin borrows the notion of communication communities from Simon Szreter (1995), thereby recognizing that speaking of any hegemonic culture before the rise of mass communication is difficult. "This concept recognises the variegated and uneven dissemination of particular sets of cultural norms and relates this to the historically specific mechanisms of socialisation through which those norms were propagated" (Griffin 2018, 9).

powerful men seem to lend themselves perfectly to an analysis in terms of hegemony: they lived in a capitalist and industrialised world, and were concerned with power and competition (not to mention very aware of their own exalted position in regard to other men). Yet, as almost all existing studies on 'political' masculinities have shown, things are rarely that simple. Despite their obvious positions of power, late nineteenth-century politicians, particularly, grappled with the rising norm of physical fitness and strength that would become more closely connected to 'natural' definitions of masculinity in the run-up to the First World War (Mangan 2000; Roper 2005; Hoegaerts 2012). And even if their bodies did not get in the way of achieving gendered normality, the varied and fluid performances of self these political men engaged in in the nineteenth century show how undefined and changeable that normality was in the first place. It contained dignified silence as well as rousing oratory, competitive aggression as well as rational control of one's emotions, total devotion to one's country and profession as well as a strong identification with fatherhood, and so on.

These simultaneous and contradictory demands attached to (modern) masculinity have been described as a 'double bind' (Bordo 1999). Although these intrinsic tensions can be acknowledged (and have been, notably by Connell) in the very notion of hegemonic masculinity (which represents a societal norm that, whilst upheld by individual men, cannot be put into practice by any individual), the model of hegemony/complicity/marginality does not really offer us clear tools to analyse the different and changeable ways in which men have negotiated this double bind. It is, therefore, a good place to start thinking 'historically' about this particular, but often seemingly universal, aspect of masculinity.

The nineteenth-century 'career' politician grappled with a number of contradictory demands – many of them highlighting the tension between the calm, sedate (and indeed sedentary) nature of representative politics on the one hand, and the growing attention given to fitness, musculature and violence as aspects of 'natural' masculinity in the nineteenth century on the other, for example by jokingly referring to their own age-related infirmities. In 1865 these tensions rose to the surface in a rather atypically public display of contradictory masculinity in the Belgian hemicycle, and reported in the proceedings of the Chamber of Representatives (CoR). During a debate on the contested 'Mexican expedition' (in which a regiment of volunteers was recruited to 'save' princess Charlotte), representative Jan Delaet had targeted then minister of war Félix Chazal for the way in which recruitment had taken place. In retaliation, Chazal had called him "shameless" (CoR 5 April 1865, 759). This language was not up to the standards of dignity of parliament, according to his opponent, who demanded that the "infamous" term be "taken back" (CoR 5 Apr 1865, 768). The president of the Chamber seemed to be unable to ease the tension and Delaet

eventually challenged Chazal to a duel to resolve the matter. Whilst the practice of duelling had largely disappeared in Belgium, and had indeed been made illegal in 1841, both seemed to agree on a physical reparation of their honour and the duel took place on April 8, 1865 (Van den Peereboom 1994, 86).

The outcome of their meeting was unspectacular: both men survived, and both seemed satisfied that their honour had been preserved – suggesting that the notion of parliamentary dignity was, at least in some circles, a masculine attribute that mirrored or perhaps modernised martial symbols of value and valour (La Vaque Manty 2006). More important than the event of the duel, however, is the particular context in which it could take place: in a representative democracy and more precisely in the legislative chamber that had outlawed the duel a couple of decades earlier.[5] It is also important to note that it was instigated by a political figure who had made his name and career as a pacifist. Rather than two men battling in an attempt for hegemony, these seem to be participants in a 'community of communication' in which discourses of honour and dignity were closely intertwined and therefore (equally) attainable to both the military man and the political agitator (even if both parties would later attempt to mobilise various definitions of courage and danger to their own advantage). They both engaged in a process of cultural contestation against what the law and formal politics at the time defined as 'proper' masculine behaviour. Chazal would, in the wake of the duel, become the first Belgian minister to be brought in front of a judge during his tenure. Despite these official sanctions, however, both men seem to have been satisfied that their respective political and social constituencies recognised their behaviour as a display of authority and power (Hoegaerts 2011). Or, to put it simply, it did not do their careers and reputations any harm.

Vocabularies of Masculinity and Work

One of the more mundane, but nevertheless important problems of writing any history of masculinity is that of vocabulary. As is clear from the insistence on terms such as 'dignity', masculinity (unlike the more ideologically charged and

5 Duelling had been (and would continue to be in other countries for a while) a fairly common way to settle disputes. There are significant national differences in the cultural meaning of the duel and, therefore, the group of men most likely to engage in it. In addition to military men, journalists and politicians were seen as particularly likely to settle their disputes through duelling in the Francophone world (Hoegaerts, 2011).

therefore more visible 'manliness', Tosh 1994) did not carry much meaning, nor, for that matter, did the notion of a 'career'. Historians of medieval and early modern masculinities, in particular, have called attention to the much more common use of terms like manliness, manhood and virility. Whilst these may seem to refer to norms and discourses of masculinity, it is important to keep in mind that they were part of a world in which 'biological' definitions of gender were not entrenched in the same way they would become from the late eighteenth century onward (a binary Thomas Laqueur (1990) would identify as a modern 'two-sex-model'[6]). Terms such as manliness and virility are therefore not just different, older, terms for what is at heart the same mode of distinction, they bring to light profound cultural differences between current notions of 'biological' sex and its entanglements with gender identity and gendered practices, and those of the past. (Notably, women born into positions of authority were occasionally described as having 'manly' characteristics in the Early Modern period.) And whilst those differences are most striking for more remote periods of history, they are also present in 'modern' histories in which the so-called two-sex model was already in place. Even in the nineteenth century, when 'masculinity' would find a place in the various dictionaries, the word was very rarely used. The notion of any one term referring to characteristics of 'men' as a group would still have been largely foreign to a society as divided by class and race as the 'modern' European nation. The idea that men of the serving and ruling classes 'shared' masculine traits would only be expressed later. Space, emotions, practices and cultural references were shared more within 'communication communities' than they were among men across these communities (even if, within communication communities, gendered differences were of course observed, lived and expressed). In the First World War, 'serving' came to be connected to patriotic duties as much as it had been with work and a 'brotherhood' among men became imaginable in the trenches (see Steedman 2007 on the history of the 'serving' classes).

6 The two-sex model replaced an earlier understanding of male and female reproductive anatomy that Laqueur calls the 'one-sex model': the differences between the male and female reproductive organs appear, in this model, as a matter of degree or development, with the female womb and ovaries represented as an inwardly grown penis and testicles. Whilst differences between women and men were of course observed and described before the eighteenth century, gender was not prescribed upon the individual and masculinity and femininity were neither seen as polar opposites, nor were they present as well-circumscribed categories. The notion that 'biology is destiny' is a profoundly modern one, founded upon the principles of disciplines like evolutionary biology and, of course, Freudian psychology. It was only in the nineteenth century that such understandings of the 'biology' of the sexes took hold, and even then aspects of environmental determinism remained influential alongside them.

That 'masculinities' were multiple (i.e. that 'being a man' meant fundamentally different things for individuals of different income, religious community, background, etc) would have been far more commonplace to the (early)-modern observer than the notion that 'men' could be seen to intrinsically share any set of characteristics. The languages spoken in the Belgian hemicycle, for example (French and, occasionally, Dutch) did not even assign very particular meanings to the terms *masculinité* or *mannelijkheid*. It was simply defined as 'pertaining to men'. If a person's particular characteristics thought to be intrinsically gendered were referred to, *virilité* did most of the heavy lifting in French (Corbin, Courtine and Vigarello 2009). Dutch speakers would turn to compound words combining 'man' with qualities such as courage (*mannenmoed*), strength (*mannenkracht*) or labour (*mannenwerk*), showing that these qualities were imagined to be intimately connected to men's role in the world (Hoegaerts 2014, 36). It was only by the end of the nineteenth century – roughly around the introduction of both universal male suffrage and the military draft in a number of Western countries – that 'men' (regardless of other social markers) came to be seen as a particular collective: those who served their country and – in return – could be considered citizens and involved in politics (Dudink, Hagemann and Tosh 2004). In some ways, modern representative politics created 'masculinity' as a unified category as much as biology and the two-sex model did.

Much like nineteenth-century upper-middle class men would not think of themselves as sharing 'masculinity' with those of the lower classes, they would not think of their role as MP's or in government as 'work' (for one thing, they did not get paid for it). In fact, not having to 'work' is what distinguished the gentleman from what was tellingly called the 'working' (or serving) class. They may very well have thought of their trajectory in politics as something to be undertaken professionally however, and that would to a degree imply expertise and, therefore, manliness. The ideological connection between being a 'man' and the ability to support a family was firmly entrenched in this period (even though the 'breadwinner'-model seems largely to have been a historical fiction, Vanhaute 1998). For this class of men 'work' was not a deciding factor in that equation, however. Their notion of gendered careers depended on different imageries of duty and privilege, and above all on the notions of dignity discussed above. (In addition, the term 'career' was generally used to denote one's life course, the action of moving – consciously – in a certain direction. The Oxford English Dictionary only starts to define career as 'working in a profession' in 1927.)

Dignity, though exclusive to a very particular group of men, was not so much a quality simply assigned to or presumed natural in these men. It was a quality to be acquired. It depended on exhibiting the kind of behaviour

associated with the cultural 'work' of the political representative, but was – crucially – also connected to age or maturity. It depended on how they managed their particular 'careers' through a political life. Or, in other words, dignity can be seen as a particular intersection of gender, class and age (and, less obviously, ability and ethnicity) – or, to borrow Griffin's terminology, it was modulated by differences in access to particular practices of masculinity. Its accessibility was, however, not only limited to particular people, but also to particular circumstances – it also depended on the interpretative practices of the historical actors surrounding those men whose political career was sufficiently advanced to be recognisable to others as successful public figures.

Whilst the vocabulary of parliamentary dignity 'hides' its gendered qualities, it is often expressed through much more obviously marked terminology: that of fatherhood (or fatherliness). Although even in the late nineteenth century, upper middle class men were unlikely to express any shared experience of 'masculinity' with the lower classes, they did refer to metaphors of kinship that were current in other parts of society (such as the army) to speak about citizenship and political accountability. And whilst this, too, was a class-specific language (the fatherhood referred to calls upon notions of middle class domesticity and leadership – i.e. men were expected to preside over their businesses or constituents like they did over their nuclear family – rather than the simple fact of paternity), it was projected unto men of lower social status as well, and presented a shared value, legitimising elite men's claim to 'represent' the nation's family fathers. This legislative fiction of family fathers representing 'all' fathers (who in their turn each represented their families when dealing with the outside world) was accompanied by a similar legal fiction of the *bon père de famille* of Napoleonic law (comparable to the *reasonable man* in English law). Fatherliness, like dignity, therefore appeared as part of one's 'career' in life as a man, and provided one of the most powerful imageries through which 'masculinity', though unspoken and unmarked, could be represented.

Most indicative of this importance of the image of the 'father' was, perhaps, the way in which the terminology of paternity was used metaphorically – and also how this metaphor gradually lost its power at the turn of the twentieth century. This comes across in accounts of the dignity displayed by the 'fathers of the nation'. In 1873 Representative Barthélemy Du Mortier raised the issue of parliamentary dignity in a debate on the hygienic conditions of the physical room in which the representatives met. Weaving together notions of domestic responsibility, individual autonomy and national belonging, he appealed to a distinctly 'fatherly' construction of masculinity on which political dignity needed to be based. "We need to be masters of our own place", he stated, connecting the representative's

authority in the Chamber to that of a father in his home (CoR 18 June 1873). And whilst this fatherly approach to political authority was mobilised by all representatives, it was projected most explicitly onto the members of the 1830 National Congress whose fatherhood was connected to their political 'labour' when they were welcomed to the Chamber, in 1880 with the words "You are the fathers of the fatherland, your work grows over the years and your sons, filled with gratitude, bless you" (CoR 12 August 1880).

Stories of Change

For nineteenth-century men, and particularly those invested in what would later be seen as a professional 'career', issues of time and processes of ageing were therefore intrinsically bound up with questions of gender (as was class). To think about being a 'man' was to imagine the acquisition of dignity, maturity and its various trappings such as offspring, wealth or power, depending on the context in which one's career was forged. Less than an identity, 'masculinity' in the modern period can be analysed as a process, and it therefore needs to be considered in conjunction with the rhythm of modern life and changing understandings of time. As studies of female and 'crip' time suggest (St Pierre 2015), the men we are interested in here are largely the ones setting the pace: elite men's time (often represented as linear progress, rather than cyclical), like their bodies, was 'unmarked' and therefore appears as neutral: it is the pace we have largely adopted as the yard-stick for historical time.

It is perhaps for this reason that their careers now just appear as a 'lifetime' or a natural ageing process. Nevertheless, studying the practices of even these 'great' men (and doing so through largely sanitised documents such as parliamentary proceedings) gives us glimpses of the bumps and turns in the learning process of becoming a man. It shows the performative quality of this seemingly smooth and simple passage of time. In the Chamber of Representatives, men whose identities and reputations would mark them out as 'hegemonic' still struggled with aspects of political practice (through illness, speech impediments, or nerves), saw their practices as fathers, husbands or factory-owners impact their political performances, or indeed gained and lost influence in parliament as their performances of authority and masculinity changed over time. Focussing on the process-like character of (modern) masculinity, its necessary and constant intersection with age, also almost immediately draws attention to its historical contingency. This makes Ben Griffin's alternative framework to analyse masculinity so promising for historical analysis in particular. All four of

the aspects of masculinity he points to refer to processes, to cultural work or, ultimately, to 'change'. This encourages an analysis that has room for diversity and for the ways in which notions of 'being a man' were imagined before it became fixed as a seemingly biological category (i.e. always already shaped by other characteristics such as age, class, ethnicity, religion, etc) but above all draws attention to the temporal fluidity of gendered norms and expectations.[7]

In the case of nineteenth-century representative chambers, that change has remained largely hidden. The practices of representation were guided by long-standing traditions (Crewe 2005) or by formal rules (Gardey 2015), and it is only around the turn of the twentieth century that significant numbers of newcomers entered the chamber – thus visibly questioning these rituals and rules. Research on early lower-class, ethnically 'different' and female representatives very clearly show challenges to the ossified and gendered rules of a closely knit, elitist and exclusive community (e.g. Hurd 2000). Allowing for a more fine-grained analysis of masculinity, however, grants us insight into the less dramatic processes of change and contestation that took place throughout the nineteenth century – and lets us distinguish between projections of 'traditional' masculinity employed to prop up current imaginations of diversity, and the much more complicated reality of historical masculinity upon which we can build a critical analysis of current dichotomous discourses of 'traditional' privilege and 'modern' equality.

The Belgian case presents an interesting one in that regard, because we can follow the installation of an entirely new legislative chamber, in 1831, and its subsequent development quite closely. The nation itself was as new as the chamber, and was immediately constructed as a 'modern' one: a constitutional monarchy supported by a system of representative democracy. This meant crafting a base of citizens as well, the Belgian 'people' would have to be defined

7 Analyses of historical masculinities and manliness, particularly before the rise of the 'two-sex model', are perhaps most easily imagined as intrinsically intersectional: in the absence of a unified, fixed category of gender, historical actors could make sense of their own gendered identity only in the context of other characteristics, or within their communication community. In other words, it was commonly accepted that an upper-class man's 'manliness' differed significantly from that of a male serf, no unified or biological category to which both belonged could be imagined until well into the eighteenth century. Whilst Crenshaw's (1989) concept of intersectionality therefore presents an important reminder to historians of gender that human experience always relies on different categories, axes of power and modes of oppression/privilege in interaction and co-construction with each other, the work of 'deconstructing' these categories and showing their fluidity in the first place is particular to the modern period, in which notions of gender and race came to be seen as fixed (and in which, of course, the historian herself has to confront her own categories of thought).

and learn to recognise themselves as such. This turned out to be far less straightforward. The 'fathers of the nation' seem to have been recognised as Belgian without hesitation, but not everyone who lived and worked on Belgian soil in 1830 would automatically become a citizen. Women and children would remain excluded throughout the nineteenth century, and universal single suffrage for men was only made available in 1918. Whilst not having the vote would not necessarily exclude these groups from having the Belgian 'nationality', it does show how the nation was imagined as exclusive at its inception (and to what extent it was geared towards masculine citizenship). Later immigrants to the country would need to be 'naturalised' to become members of the nation and participate in its political practices. French-born Félix Chazal, the aforementioned minister of war, was one of them. After being active in the Belgian revolution and acting as a commander in the Belgian army for over a decade, he was naturalised in 1844.

Chazal's ease in gaining entrance to the Belgian army and nation would have at least partly have been due to the existing demand for military men: founding a nation also necessitated the founding of an army, and particularly the roles demanding experience of leadership were initially largely filled with French officers. Speaking the same language and sharing the culture of the Belgian upper and upper-middle class would have allowed them to be recognised very easily as figures of authority and leadership, and indeed as possessing the quality of *virilité*. This view did not extend to other 'naturalised' Belgians, however. In 1883, when the chamber debated the creation of a new geological map of Belgium (which would effectively define what was the 'stuff' of the nation), emotions ran high when the employment of British-born experts on the project was discussed. Representative and university professor Jean Joseph Crocq caused hilarity when he said

> Yes, sirs, we have put our factory of new Belgians to work, in order to have one more member in the official committee for the geological map. It is a second-class Belgian.
>
> (CoR June 7, 1883)

In a discussion with Gustave Rolin-Jacquemyns, a man who had built his career in law and politics rather than science, Crocq based his authority on his understanding of representative democracy and its close intertwinement with 'competence'.

> Crocq: I speak with confidence, because I am voicing the opinion of the public
>
> Rolin-Jacquemyns: It is the public opinion of a couple of geologists.
>
> Crocq: It is the opinion of competent men, of the geological nation as it were.
>
> Rolin-Jacquemyns: That is precisely what I would dispute.

Again, the question here is not one of hegemony or marginality, or indeed one of hierarchy in society at large, but rather one of different communities of communication in which the gendered category of 'citizenship' is imagined differently. Scientific actors saw masculinity and expertise as closely intertwined and connected to citizenship and the nation (Zilles 2018). Crocq therefore interpreted the inclusion of 'foreign' (in this case British-born) men in what should be a 'national' field of science as an invasion in the nation's democratic space, an affront to citizenship and the masculine dignity attached to it. Rolin-Jacquemins, who described the project of the map as "a matter of scientific interest and of national glory" (CoR, April 5 1881) saw a clear distinction between a scientific community of experts (or 'competent men') and the national community of manly and glorious citizens served by the former. The connection between masculine rationality, independence and membership of the nation seems to have been far less stable than historians of modern citizenship and 'hegemonic' masculinity have supposed. Focusing on these moments of contestation as well as the importance of 'interpretive' practices allows for a more fine-grained account of the 'careers' of masculinity performed by elite men in nineteenth-century political contexts.

Conclusion – Historical and Traditional Masculinity

As the above shows, political careers in the nineteenth century were intrinsically ambiguous processes, and not easily classified as the kind of 'work' that would later be associated with the male breadwinner model. Nevertheless, the image of the good family father carrying responsibility for his whole family was central to representatives' sense of self: it defined their connection with the 'nation' and with men in vastly different social and financial circumstances. Unfortunately, research into the histories of work, professionalisation and industrialisation has largely remained curiously separate from histories of masculinity and citizenship. Although historiographical overviews and programmatic methodological reflections on the history of masculinity often point to the important connection between masculinity and 'work' that seems to have been forged in the nineteenth century, a systematic analysis of that connection is not yet available. Likewise, whilst studies of the 'making' of the working class or the experiences of working life, or histories of modern clerical professions often note the exclusively masculine character of many of the career-paths being

formulated, they rarely hone in on the intrinsic connections between gender and labour at work in these contexts.

And yet, historicising precisely this intersection between masculinity, the modern career, fatherhood and citizenship, might be of particular importance for our understanding of masculinities today. Few things are quite so central to the amorphous, imagined conglomerate of characteristics that makes up what is sometimes referred to as 'traditional' masculinity. The 'traditional' man is, of course, the result of a practice of (collective) imagination, of 'invention of tradition', and therefore necessarily culturally specific and somewhat undefined. Nevertheless, particularly in the modern 'West' we seem to be haunted by the spectre of a particular 'traditional man': a breadwinner, of strong musculature, aggressive and gentlemanly, and an authoritative leader and father. Whilst it is understood that traditional and historical masculinity are different things, traditional masculinity still seems to be imagined as something of the (vague and undefined) past, something against which we can contrast the subtleties, nuances, internal conflicts and fluidity of masculinity as it is practiced now. And of course, most of the characteristics of this imagined traditional masculinity can be traced back in some way to very different historical contexts and periods – showing just what a mongrel the 'traditional' man is. If traditional masculinity's narrative of gentlemanliness may be traced back to (mis)representations of knights and noblemen of the distant past; if the traditional aggression associated with masculinity can be connected to the military ideologies and practices surrounding industrialised warfare; the image of the breadwinner and the career-driven 'traditional' man quite probably traces back to the nineteenth century. Processes of organising labour and professionalisation in conjunction with modernised notions of representation and citizenship were, as shown above, deeply implicated with gendered practices across different communities of communication and resulting in different kinds of interpretative cultural work. The rise of the political career shows that this is a period when being a man and a political actor became a 'profession', and individual 'work' outside the home was imagined as central to being a 'man' – albeit not necessarily as the breadwinner that now seems so traditional.

Acknowledgements: This research has been funded by a grant from the European Research Council (CALLIOPE, ERC StG 2017). I would also like to thank Kadri Aavik, Janne Salminen and Eva Johanna Holmberg for their helpful comments and critiques.

References

Beyen, Marnix. 2006. "De eerbiedwaardige onderbrekers. Ironie en pastiche in de Franse kamer van afgevaardigden, 1890." In *Humor met een verleden*, edited by Marnix Beyen and Johan Verberckmoes, Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Bordo, Susanne. 1999. *The Male Body. A New Look at Men in Public and Private*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Brod, Harry. 2002. "Studying Masculinities as Superordinate Studies". In *Masculinity Studies & Feminist Theory. New Directions*, edited by Judith Kegan Gardiner, New York: Columbia University Press.

Connell, Raewyn. 1995. *Masculinities*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Connell, Raewyn, and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept". *Gender and Society*, 19: 829–859.

Corbin, Alain et al., eds. 2009. *Histoire de la virilité* (volumes I-III), Paris: Le Seuil.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140: 139–167.

Crewe, Emma. 2005. *Lords of Parliament. Manners, Rituals and Politics*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. 1987. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Delumeau, Jean and Daniel Roche, eds. 1990. *Histoire des pères et de la paternité*. Paris: Larousse.

De Smaele, Henk. 2002."De beroepspoliticus. Waarom 'de aristocratie' onvermijdelijk is." In *Politieke representatie*, edited by Henk De Smaele, and Jo Tollebeek, 109–121. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Dinges, Martin ed. 2005. *Männer – Macht – Körper: Hegemoniale Männlichkeiten vom Mittelalter bis heute*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.

Dudink, Stefan. 1998. "The Trouble with Men: Problems in the History of Masculinity." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 1(3): 419–431.

Dudink, Stefan, Karen Hagemann, and Anna Clark, eds. 2007. *Representing Masculinity. Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture*. London: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Dudink, Stefan, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh, eds. 2004. *Masculinities in Politics and War. Gendering Modern History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Ellis, Heather. 2014. "Knowledge, character and professionalisation in nineteenth-century British science." *Journal of the History of Education Society* 43: 777–792.

Francis, Martin. 2002. "The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity", *The Historical Journal* 45(3): 637–652.

Frevert, Ute. 1991. *Ehrenmänner. Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*. München: C.H. Beck.

Frevert, Ute. 2001. *Die kasernierte Nation: Militärdienst und Zivillgesellschaft in Deutschland*. München: C.H. Beck.

Gardey, Delphine. 2015. *Le linge du palais Bourbon. Corps, matérialité et genre du politique à l'ère démocratique*. Lormont: Le Bord de l'eau.

Griffin, Ben. 2018. "Hegemonic Masculinity as a Historical Problem." *Gender & History* 30(2): 377–400.
Griffin, Ben. 2012. *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain. Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Griswold, Robert L. 1993. *Fatherhood in America: A History*. New York: Basic Books.
Hagemann, Karen. 2002. *Männlicher Muth und Teutscher Ehre. Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preussens*. München: Schöningh.
Hall, Catherine. 1992. *White, Male and Middle Class. Explorations in Feminism and History*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Handley, Sasha, Rohan McWilliam, and Lucy Noakes, eds. 2018. *New Directions in Social and Cultural History*. London: Bloomsbury.
Harvey, Karen, and Alexandra Shepard. 2005. "What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, ca. 1500–1950." *Journal of British Studies* 44(2): 274–280.
Hoegaerts, Josephine. 2012. "Benevolent Fathers and Virile Brothers: Metaphors of Kinship and the Construction of Masculinity and Age in the Nineteenth-Century Belgian Army." *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 127(1): 72–100.
Hoegaerts, Josephine. 2011 "L'homme du monde est oblige de se battre. Duel-vertogen en -praktijken in en rond het Belgische parlement, 1830–1900." *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 124: 190–205.
Hoegaerts, Josephine. 2014. *Masculinity and Nationhood. Constructions of Identity and Citizenship in Belgium 1830–1910*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Hurd, Madeleine. 2000. "Class, Masculinity, Manner and Mores. Public Space and Public Sphere in Nineteenth-Century Europe." *Social Science History* 24(1): 75–110.
Kennedy, C., and Matthew McCormack, eds. 2007. *Public Men. Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Kimmel, Michael. 1996. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. New York: Free Press.
Knibiehler, Yvonne. 1987. *Les pères aussi ont une histoire*. Paris: Hachette.
Lauwers, Karen. 2019. "Negotiating the Republic: Direct Interactions Between Unorganized Citizens and MPs in France, ca.1900–1930s." PhD diss., University of Antwerp.
La Vaque-Manty, Mika. 2006. "Dueling for Equality", *Political Theory* 34(6): 715–740.
Laqueur, Thomas W. 1990. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Lees, Clara A. ed. 1994. *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Lenzen, Dieter. 1991. *Vaterschaft. Vom Patriarchat zur Alimentation*. Reinbek: Rowohlt.
Mangan, J.A. 2000. *Making European Masculinities: Sport, Europe, Gender*. London: Frank Cass.
Mazo Karras, Ruth. 2002. *From Boys to Men. Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Mosse, George. 1996. *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Nye, Robert. 1993. *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honour in Modern France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Rauch, André. 2000. *Le premier sexe. Mutations et crise de l'identité masculine*. Paris: Hachette.

Richter, Hedwig and Kerstin Wolff, eds. 2018. *Frauenwahlrecht. Demokratisierung der Demokratie in Deutschland und Europa*. Hamburg: Hamburger Edition.
Roper, Michael. 2005. "Between Manliness and Masculinity: The 'War Generation' and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914–1950." *Journal of British Studies* 44: 343–362.
Rotundo, E. Anthony. 1993. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: Basic Books.
Smith, Bonnie. 2000. *The Gender of History. Men, Women and Historical Practice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Schnicke, Falko. 2015. *Die männliche Disziplin. Zur Vergeschlechtlichung der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft (1780–1900)*. Göttingen: Wallstein.
Scott, Joan Wallach. 1986. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *American Historical Review* 91(5): 1053–1075.
Shepard, Alexandra. 2006. *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. 1997. *Male Trouble. A Crisis in Representation*. New York: Thames and Hudson.
Szreter, Simon. 1995. *Fertility, Class and Gender in Britain 1860–1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Steedman, Carolyn. 2007. *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Surkis, Judith. 2006. *Sexing the Citizen. Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870–1920*. Ithaka and London: Cornell University Press.
St Pierre, Joshua. 2015. "Distending Straight-Masculine Time: A Phenomenology of the Disabled Speaking Body." *Hypatia. A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 30(1): 49–65.
Theweleit, Klaus. 1977. *Männerphantasien*. Verlag Roter Stern: Frankfurt am Main.
Tosh, John. 1994. "What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain." *History Workshop Journal* 38(1): 179–202.
Tosh, John. 2007. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Tosh, John. 2015. *The Pursuit of History. Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History*, Routledge.
Traister, Bryce. 2000. "Academic Viagra: the Rise of American Masculinity Studies" *American Quarterly* 52(2): 274–304.
Van den Peereboom, Alphonse. 1994. *La fin d'un règne: notes et souvenirs*, edited by Marcel Bots, Ghent: Liberaal Archief.
Vanhaute, Eric. 1998. "Het kostwinnermodel als historische fictie. Arbeid en inkomen van gezinnen in langetermijnperspectief." In *Het kostwinnersmodel voorbij?* edited by Walter Van Dongen e.a. 55–71. Leuven: Garant.
Witte, Els, Jan Craeybeckx and Alain Meynen. 2009. *Political History of Belgium: From 1830 onwards*. Brussels: VUBPress.
Zilles, Sebastian. 2018. *Die Schulen der Männlichkeit. Männerbünde in Wissenschaft und Literatur um 1900*. Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau Verlag.

Jeff Hearn

Afterword: Men, Masculinities, Careers and Careering

Introduction

This collection – with some chapters more in essay form, some empirical research studies – arises directly from the two-day Conference: "Making it like a man – Men, masculinities and the modern 'career'", held at the Collegium for Advanced Studies at the University of Helsinki, 25–26 October 2018. I really wanted to come to all of the event, but being involved in the celebrations of 40 years of teaching and research on Women's and Gender Studies at Örebro University, Sweden, I was unable to make the first day, and attended only the second, as Commentator on Tristan Bridge's ending presentation on 'Gender Hegemony in Transition: Shifts in Gender Inequality in 21st Century Workplaces and Society'. So, reading through the chapters, some were reassuringly familiar, some totally new to me.

For my own part, it was in the early 1970s that the question of careers grabbed my attention as something truly fascinating. On a masters course on Organisation Studies, I remember writing an extended essay on "Careers and careering", which outlined ideas around the conceptual and empirical inadequacy of the ideal-typical (see, for example, Glaser 1968; Sofer 1970; Osipow and Fitzgerald 1973) or 'pure career', that was ordered, linear, regular, temporally consistent – and often very male. Instead, I was interested in various, different forms of careers, that went in other directions, and were not usually considered to be careers at all. These included 'the (future-oriented) uncareer', '(past-oriented) careerlessness', and, most novelly, 'the (present-centred) non-career'. I was fortunate that this led onto the publication, 'On the concept of non-career' (Hearn 1977), what I think of as my first 'proper article', and then some further explorations of the practical and policy implications of changing forms of "career" (Hearn 1980, 1981).

These ideas were very much around gender, especially so in terms of the neglect and subordination of women and women's careers, though perhaps I didn't fully realise why and how so at the time. But then perhaps the point is that (most, and in some societies all), women are not 'meant' to have work careers in the public sphere. This may seem an odd comment, but in the early 1970s most women in the UK were not expected to have a career in business or the professions, unless they came from more privileged backgrounds, and even then not still so often. It is shocking to say that it was only in 1954 that the

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-014

marriage bar was abolished in the British Civil Service, most local government, and the Post Office.

The whole question of careers has stayed with me, on and off since, in researching men and management, work and non-work, men and care, organisational change, academia, and so on.

Categories and Concepts

Men.

Masculinities.

Careers.

These are the categories that have been in focus in this book.

Men is a social category, similar to, but distinct from, males or adult males. After all, not all men are male(s). Men is also a social category invested with social power, even if that means that hierarchical societal relations produce some men as (far) less powerful and perhaps powerless. The social power of men is maintained both fratriarchally (lateral) and patriarchally (hierarchical), so that the worst-off men are likely to be least valued, and truly dispensable (Hearn 1987; Isola et al. 2019).

Masculinities – which, interestingly, is sometimes placed in inverted commas by the editors of the book – is much harder to define (Hearn 1996). It may refer to patterns of traits, configurations of practice (both individual and collective), identities, norms, psychologies and psychodynamics, sentiments, that are held to relate to being men or males, or are in turn . . . taken up in relation to femaleness, as in female masculinity (Halberstam 1998).

And what is a career? Careers are not just about work; they involve time and movement, or at least some reference to time and movement. For the concept of career to be useful, to 'work', it has to be more than just a shorthand for people's relations to and/or experience of work. It has to involve time, whether shorter or longer, and some kind of movement across time. That can be movement within one given organisation or occupation, or it can be between, across or out of organisations and occupations. This feature of the concept of career perhaps becomes clearer when we think of careers in non-work sites and arenas, as in therapy, in medical care, in addiction, in criminality, and so on. The therapeutic career, the medical career, the addict career, the criminal career are all about relative change – escalation, deepening, regression, reform, cure – in time.

Career, or at least work career, refers to some more or less regular pattern of work as it develops and changes over time, as in the 'pure career' already noted or the male classed 'ideal(-type) career':

> Not only does the Pure Career take place over a relatively long period of time, but that time is structured in a certain way. The career is made up of a series of relatively discrete occupations or jobs, each of a finite length, separated by decision points. Davidson and Anderson [1937: 367], in their pioneering work defined a worker's career pattern as ' . . . the number of occupations followed and the duration of each.' Becker [1952: 470] widened the definition to a ' . . . patterned series of adjustments made . . . to the network of institutions, formal organisations and informal relationships' of the work realm. Specifically, the Pure Career is a structuring of time in the past and in the future. It is concerned with justifications, explanations and certain knowledge in the past; and with expectation, anticipations and uncertainties in the future. Together these combine to form 'a satisfying, life-long straight-line career.' (Hearn 1977: 276)

The pure career was characterised by the combination of individualism as ambition, context as emergence, and duality as either alienation or integration, as *the person becomes their career*, within either a negative alienating or a positive integrative narrative. This all sounds remarkably akin to neoliberal subjectivity. The pure career is also heavily embedded in the interconnections of class, gender and racialisation. Work career, as widely conceived, is certainly a gendered concept, and careers are clearly gendered – in everyday realities, dominant conceptualisations and academic studies of career – in their assumptions, practices, and above all change and outcomes, notably in status, position, pay and wealth. It is instructive to remember that the gender pensions gap is far larger than the gender pay gap in most countries ('Gender equality: EU action triggers steady progress' 2014).

Careers and Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities

Within Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities (CSMM) there is something of paradox in how the close connections of work, paid work, money, organisations, management, economy, and career with men and masculinities that have been assumed have meant that studies have often turned to "other" areas to describe, analyse and explain men and masculinities. These "other" areas of social life have included emotions, the body, sexuality, family, fatherhood, friendship, violence, sport. The former connections (around work and the rest) have been just too obvious (Hearn and Collinson 2014), too pressing, too

structural, too normative, too hegemonic to bother with – even with the broad base of much of CSMM in assumed gender and class domination.

This situation has at times created a strange lacuna, even in Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities, around the obvious connections of men, masculinities, and career(s). So, what does this mix now mean for career?

The secure linear male work career may be a partial and normative fiction, but it has worked for certain men, even if a privileged minority, for a long time – if not for the mass of men, and most women. The linear male career concerns what happens to some when their salaried work has been located within a relatively more stable professional or business field.

Yet what is interesting now is that taking career for granted becomes easier at a time when the male career seems to be less predictable. Disruption of career, even of a normative fiction, makes things more visible. The stable taken-for-granted is less studied, as with "naming men as men" (Hanmer 1990; Collinson and Hearn 1994). The focus on men, masculinities and careers becomes easier when they are becoming less clearly connected – for some!

The Collection

Now to turn more directly to the book – four main themes are highlighted: men, care and careers, with emphasis on self-care, 'caring' roles and occupations; male-dominated careers and work spaces; self-representations of the (in) competent; and theoretical and methodological perspectives on men, masculinities, and career(s).

I enjoyed reading the collection very much, so let us start with some observations on what seem to me to characterise some or even most of the contributions. First, the collection is broad-ranging, historically, geographically, and both disciplinarily and cross-disciplinarily, across the social sciences, especially sociology, and the humanities, especially history. The book thus engages with the cultural, the social, the material, and the discursive.

Second, most of the chapters are drawn towards a primary concern with masculinities and gender construction, and with men, women and gender construction, rather than basing their scholarship in academic traditions on work and career. It is perhaps worth noting that quite a few of the contributors seem to come from somewhere else than core studies of gender, work and careers, or structural labour market analysis.

A third theme is intersectionality which is alluded to or taken up in various ways in many parts of the book and dealt most explicitly and thoroughly in

Kadri Aavik's chapter on theoretical and methodological questions, including the issue of how to deal with unspoken, 'absent' social intersections.

Fourth, there are some novel approaches and focuses here, including innovation is methods, and chapters on careers in art (Gilad Reich) and sport (Hildo de Oliveira Filho), two frequently neglected fields of work, that are perhaps seen as 'lesser careers' compared to the mainstreams of business, management, the established professions and public sector occupations.

A fifth point concerns how the book tussles, in some fascinating ways, with some tensions both in lives lived and in analysis: between the enduring connections of men, masculinities, work and career, and yet the variations, diversities, contradictions, surprises, and exceptions – though perhaps some of those very contradictions, surprises and exceptions are what keep the enduring connections going.

And sixth, and linked to the previous point, there is an emphasis on nuance and what might called 'states of exception', away from the supposed norm of ideal-typical male-gendered (pure) career. There are many examples here, with chapters by Henry Hyvönen on care and self-care, Ingrid Biese on men opting out from mainstream careers, Cathy Leogrande on male teachers, Reich on careers in the art world, and Marta Choroszewicz on the use of emotions and 'soft skills' in law. These last two examples are especially complex, with in the first case the author pointing to the use of capitalist business methods in the world of Andy Warhol, even as it appears to flout respectability, and in the second case Choroszewicz showing how these soft skills can be recapitalised in the promotion of male legal careers. This latter chapter has some resonance with Joanna Efving Hwang's detailed analysis of embodied social practice, specifically around clothing, appearance, grooming and body weight in South Korea. Likewise, Efving Hwang's chapter makes a nice comparison with Hyvönen's in relation to self-care. These arguably feminised practices, if done 'successfully', seem to do no harm at all to, and may indeed even benefit, corporate careers. What is interesting here is the combination of (disembodied) competence and (embodied) appearance in the making of certain kinds of men and their careers.

The direction of these insights reminds me of several previous studies, for example: Suzanne Moore's 1988 essay on men "getting a bit of the Other"; Michael Roper's 1996 study of aesthetic and embodied emulation amongst academics; Tristan Bridges and C.J. Pascoe's (2014) work on reincorporation of the Other into the hegemonic. These insights also sit well, if in concrete practice more or less awkwardly, with Raewyn Connell's (1995) notion of authorisation. These all seem to feed into aspects of the flexible neoliberal subject (see, for example, Duggan 2004; Boutang 2011; Dardot and Laval 2014; McGuigan 2014),

and have resonance with the growing number of studies of men destined for the cultural sector (Goedecke 2018) and the service economy (Roberts 2018) or 'non-traditional' careers more broadly (Williams 1993), with associated changes in their gendered social capital, social position and experiences. Overall, the collection is drawn towards the nuanced and what might be called as a shorthand, if somewhat unsatisfactorily, 'the feminine' and 'the feminised'. This series of nuanced interpretations is, for me, the defining feature of the book.

Two significant exceptions to this last characterisation are Cassie DeFillipo's chapter on the Thai businessmen's use of commercial sex industry, and Tristan Bridges, Catherine J. Taylor and Sekani Robinson's overview chapter. While the former continues the detailed, qualitative, and in this case ethnographic, style of most of the book, also highlighting homosociality in a different way to some other chapters, the latter considers the broader connections between masculinity, work and career that reproduce gender inequality. Structural issues of gender segregation, the 'breadwinner' model, devaluation of femininity, and 'masculinity contest cultures' (Berdahl et al. 2018) in organisations are all examined, noting both consistent patterns and variation. These are important questions. Reading this chapter, as number 10 of 12, I started to wonder for a while if it might have been figured well as one of the early scene-setting chapters in the book, as it raises some important societal contextualising questions for gendered careers. On the other hand, the socio-economic conditions in the country that is its main focus, the USA, do not translate exactly to all 'Western' industrialised countries, not least Finland where the original conference was hosted, and so locating it in the end section on theoretical and methodological concerns enhances the broad inductive narrative of the book.

While, the collection ranges far and wide, inevitably there are still a number of issues that it does not deal with so much. These might give some further indications for necessary future research on men, masculinities and careers.

First, most chapters are not strongly oriented to the world of large corporations, and focus rather more on individuals and occupational groups, and especially so in non-corporate settings. Having said that, Elfving-Hwang's chapter on investigation of Korean businessmen's grooming, already noted, connects with these practices with "the now dominant logic of the 'neoliberal' capitalist market promotes the formation of the self-interested, self-reliant 'desiring subject' in an increasingly privatised, consumerised, and hierarchised socioeconomic landscape" (Hird 2016, 137). There are also some telling references to how in the corporate work environment some men at least are "locked in a long-term contest for advancement", with "a male worker's chief competitors [. . .] his male coworkers" (Janelli and Yim 2002, 123) In this mix, fratriarchy and patriarchy intermingle, along with individualism, homosociality, male, or men's, competition in

between, and indeed personal presentation and grooming. Appearance is thus not just representation.

Second, and partly linked to the previous point, most chapters are framed in national contexts, rather than attending to transnational careers (see Hearn et al. 2017). This is perhaps unfortunate, as one of the features of an increasing range of career sectors is their transnational character. This applies not only to business and academia, but also migratory careers in, say, the building, tourism and hospitality industries. A notable exception in that by Ulla Ijäs on the fascinating historical case of Friedrich Wilhelm Klingender (1781–c.1848), a German bookkeeper working in the North European timber trade with a rather unsuccessful career, accessible through his prolific diaries – an unusual find from someone in this career position. This chapter is also somewhat different to most of the others in not playing down the domestic, private, relations to women and children.

Third, and perhaps understandably, there is not so much on women's careers or how men's careers relate to, often depend on, and dominate, resist or impede women and women's careers.

Fourth, and perhaps more surprisingly, age and generation, both chronological and career-wise, are not given much prominence, even though careers are in many ways all about time and temporality (see Jyrkinen et al. 2017; Hearn and Husu 2019).

New, Changing and Future Careers

One further question that is prompted by this book is that of new, changing and future careers, and their impacts on and from different men and masculinities. Gendered careers are not fixed; new occupations arise, with, for example, new information and communication technologies, and crossovers and redefinitions occurring between occupations and professions. This latter process may well be gathering pace, with changes in the labour market, the 'gig economy', and the expansion of turker jobs (performed by a distributed workforce, with tasks done virtually anywhere in the world), uberisation, hybrid occupations, and composite skills (see, for example, Webster and Randle 2016; Kessler 2018). Such changes create more organisational and career uncertainty and challenges for many, women and men. These complexities make for highly variable, and at times flexible and changing – and thus also unpredictable over time – conditions for gendered careers, even while male domination continues, recoups and regroups.

Socio-technological-driven change operates at very different scales, from the fingertips, the embodied, personal and intimate at work to the transnational

and the global. At the latter levels, change involves remote globalising power, geographical and other surveillances, and the increasing power of technocratic masculinities, even with the rise of populism and populist political leadership. Transformations in the global economy continue, through new gendered tiers in the information hierarchy: ICT entrepreneurs, engineers, managers, service workers, through which the physical location of male power is reorganising, thus also reworking ethnic-racial male power (Poster 2013).

Key features are: job polarisation; the impact of ICTs on both high and low skill jobs (the Moravec paradox [1988]: contrary to some assumptions, high-level reasoning requires very little computation, while low-level sensorimotor skills require large computational resources); and the use of disembodied automated algorithmic transactions in currency speculation, financial markets, and law. Even in the early 2010s it was reported that automated trades accounted for at least 70 percent of Wall Street stock market (O'Hara and Mason 2012; also see 'Masters of the universe . . . ' 2019). Outsourcing to different parts of the world is no longer only about cheaper factory production, streamlining warehouses or call centres, but a host of further redistributions in the global/transnational division of labour, including of high-skill work. These changes affect gendered careers and career masculinities/femininities in very, perhaps polarised ways, by age, class, location, racialisation, and technological expertise and control. Aneesh (2006, 2009) terms these new power relations, algocracy. These questions have many and major implications for men, masculinities and gendered careers.

Further on still, we may be moving onto, or even now be in, a new phase of capitalism, sometimes referred to as surveillance capitalism (Zuboff 2019). In this, people using the digital services of, for example, Google, Facebook and similar business organisations, are not simply consumers, customers, workers with or without careers, or careerists; rather, they themselves willingly supply data for business in terms of their human experience as *raw material*, or more formally behavioural data, from which surveillance capitalists *extract value*. This data, supplied from consumption, work and careers, partly serves to refine digital products and services to be sold on the market, but more importantly constitutes raw material freely available as a "proprietary behavioral surplus" which when then fed into "machine intelligence" processes produces "behavioral prediction products" saleable in a new type of market: the "behavioral futures market" (Zuboff 2019, 8). In this changing economic and organisational scene, the very concept of career, and the data that careers generate for new marketing, can become something else from what a career is now usually assumed to be. Career and career experiences are then sites for the making of data, and commodities for value-extraction on the global capitalist market.

And Finally . . .

. . . a word about the place of studying men, masculinities and careers in relation to the careers of those studying them, in this case, the contributors, including myself. As noted, my own academic career has been intimately bound up with both career and then CSMM itself. Studying and writing critically about men, masculinities and careers can itself be good, or no so good, for one's career, depending also on one's academic discipline, location, gender, political orientation, and so on. It might be seen, *by others*, as "not worthy of study", "a new perspective", "time to see gender is also about men", "moving gender away from women", and so on. These can lead onto its own rewards or punishments, in career and other terms. Studying gender and studying men and masculinities, when critical, are never neutral matters. They can be lauded, resisted and/or condemned, from totally opposite viewpoints, of colleagues, peers, managers, gatekeepers, and competitors and collaborators, in ways that go to make or break academic, research and related careers.

References

Aneesh, Aneesh. 2006. *Virtual Migration*. Durham: Duke University Press

Aneesh, Aneesh 2009 "Global Labor: Algocratic Modes of Organization." *Sociological Theory* 27(4): 347–370.

Becker, Howard S. 1952. "The Career of the Chicago Public Schoolteacher." *American Journal of Sociology* 57(5): 470–477.

Berdahl, Jennifer L., Marianne Cooper, Peter Glick, Robert W. Livingston, and Joan C. Williams. 2018. "Work as a Masculinity Contest." *Journal of Social Issues* 74(3): 422–448.

Boutang, Yann M. 2011. *Cognitive Capitalism*. London: Polity.

Bridges, Tristan, and C.J. Pascoe 2014. "Hybrid Masculinities: New Directions in the Sociology of Men and Masculinities." *Sociology Compass* 8(3): 246–258.

Collinson, David L., and Jeff Hearn. 1994. "Naming men as men: implications for work, organizations and management." *Gender, Work and Organization* 1(1): 2–22.

Connell, Raewyn. 1995. *Masculinities*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Dardot, Pierre, and Christian Laval. 2014. *The New Way of the World: On Neoliberal Society* trans. Gregory Elliott. London: Verso.

Davidson, Percy E., and H. Dewey Anderson. 1937. *Occupational Mobility in an American Community*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Duggan, Lisa. 2004. *The Twilight of Equality?: Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics and the Attack on Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press.

"Gender equality: EU action triggers steady progress." 2014. Press release. Brussels: European Commission, 14 April. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-423_en.htm

Glaser, Barney G. ed. 1968. *Organisational Careers: A Sourcebook for Theory*. Chicago: Aldine.

Goedecke, Klara. 2018. "'Other Guys Don't Hang Out Like This': Gendered Friendship Politics among Swedish, Middle-Class Men." PhD. diss., Uppsala: Uppsala University.
Halberstam, Judith. 1998. *Female Masculinity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Hanmer, Jalna. 1990. "Men, power and the exploitation of women." In *Men, Masculinities and Social Theory*, edited by Jeff Hear, and David Morgan, 21–42. London: Unwin Hyman/ Routledge.
Hearn, Jeff. 1977. "Towards a Concept of Non-career." *Sociological Review* 25(2): 273–288.
Hearn, Jeff. 1980. "Anarchist Careers Rule, OK?." *Personnel Management* 12(8): 37–39.
Hearn, Jeff. 1981. "Crisis, taboos and careers guidance." *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* 9(1): 12–23.
Hearn, Jeff. 1987. *The Gender of Oppression: Men, Masculinity and the Critique of Marxism*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Hearn, Jeff. 1996. "'Is masculinity dead?' A critical account of the concepts of masculinity and masculinities." In *Understanding Masculinities: Social Relations and Cultural Arenas*, edited by Mairtin Mac an Ghaill, 202–217. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
Hearn, Jeff, and David L. Collinson. 2014. "Taking the obvious apart: Men, masculinities and the dynamics of gendered leadership." In *Gender in Organizations: Are Men Allies or Adversaries to Women's Career Advancement*?, edited by Ronald J. Burke, and Debra A. Major, 73–92. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Press.
Hearn, Jeff, Marjut Jyrkinen, Mira Karjalainen, Charlotta Niemistö, and Rebecca Piekkari. 2017. "Top Men in Transnational Companies: The Construction of Men, Masculinities, and Work-Family Intersections within 'Gender-Neutral' Contexts." In *Gender in Transnational Knowledge Companies*, edited by Helen Peterson, 99–118. Berlin: Springer.
Hearn, Jeff, and Liisa Husu. 2019. "Age-Gender Relations in the Academic Profession: Putting the Challenges of Entry and Early Career into Context." In *Gender*, *Age and Inequality in* the *Professions*, edited by Tracey L. Adams and Marta Choroszewicz, 193–212. London: Routledge.
Hird, Derek. 2016. "Making Class and Gender: White-collar Men in Postsocialist China." In *Changing Chinese Masculinities: From Imperial Pillars of State to Global Real Men*, edited by Kam Louie, 137–156. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
Isola, Anna-Maria, Reetta Siukola, and Minna Kukkonen. 2019. "Gendered Experiences of Poverty and Recognition in the Finnish welfare state." *NORA: Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 27(3): 152–165.
Janelli Roger L., and Dawnhee Yim. 2002. "Gender Construction in the Offices of a South Korean Conglomerate" In *Under Construction: The Gendering of Modernity, Class and Consumption in the Republic of Korea*, edited by Laurel Kendall, 115–139. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
Jyrkinen, Marjut, Charlotta Niemistö, and Jeff Hearn. 2017. "Career, Care and Time: Women Top Managers in the Intersections of Age, Gender and Work/Family." In *Ageing, Organizations and Management: Constructive Discourses and Critical Perspectives*, edited by Iiris Aaltio, Albert J. Mills, and Jean Helms Mills, 229–252. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Kessler, Sarah. 2018. *Gigged: The End of the Job and the Future of Work*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
McGuigan, Jim. 2014. "The Neoliberal Self." *Culture Unbound* 6(1): 223–240.
'Masters of the universe: The rise of the financial machines.' 2019. *The Economist*, *5 October*. https://www.economist.com/leaders/2019/10/03/the-rise-of-the-financial-machines

Moravec, Hans. 1988. *Mind Children: The Future of Robot and Human Intelligence*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Moore, Suzanne. 1988. "Getting a Bit of the Other: The Pimps of Postmodernism." In *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, edited by Rowena Chapman, and Jonathan Rutherford, 165–192. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

O'Hara, Dan, and Luke Robert Mason. 2012. "How bots are taking over the world." *The Guardian*, 30 March. http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/mar/30/how-bots-are-taking-over-the-world.

Osipow, Samuel H., and Louise F. Fitzgerald. 1973. *Theories of Career Development*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Poster, Winifred. 2013. "Subversions of techno-masculinity: Indian ICT professionals in the global economy." In *Rethinking Transnational Men: Beyond, Between and Within Nations*, edited by Jeff Hearn, Marina Blagojević, and Katherine Harrison, 113–133. New York: Routledge.

Roberts, Steven. 2018. *Young Working-Class Men in Transition*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Roper, Michael. 1996. "'Seduction and Succession': Circuits of Homosocial Desire in Management." In *Men as Managers, Managers as Men: Critical Perspectives on Men, Masculinities and Managements*, edited by David L. Collinson, and Jeff Hearn, 210–226. London: Sage Publications.

Sofer, Cyril. 1970. *Men in Mid-career: A Study of British Managers and Technical Specialists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Webster, Juliet, and Keith Randle, eds. 2016. *Virtual Workers and the Global Labour Market*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Williams, L. Christine. 1993. *Doing "Women's Work": Men in Nontraditional Occupations*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Zuboff, Shoshana. 2019. *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for the Future at the New Frontier of Power*. London: Profile.

Biographies

Kadri Aavik holds an MA in Gender Studies and a PhD in Sociology. She is Associate Professor at Tallinn University, Estonia and is currently working as a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Helsinki, Finland. She works in gender studies, critical studies on men and masculinities, critical animal studies, vegan studies and their intersections. She has studied inequalities in the labour market from an intersectional perspective, focusing on men, masculinities and intersectional privilege. She is using and developing qualitative methods, with a particular interest in narrative inquiry. Her current research focuses on understanding men's experiences of transitioning to veganism and living as vegans.

Josephine Hoegaerts is Associate Professor of European Studies at the University of Helsinki. Her research focuses on the embodied and gendered articulations of citizenship and middle-class propriety in nineteenth century Europe, including cultures of political representation and of medical research. She is the PI of CALLIOPE: Vocal Articulations of Parliamentary Identity and Empire (ERC StG 2017), and the author of *Masculinity and Nationhood, 1830–1910: Constructions of Identity and Citizenship in Belgium, Genders and Sexualities in History*, Palgrave-MacMillan (2014) and "Speaking like Intelligent Men: Vocal Articulations of Authority and Identity in the House of Commons in the Nineteenth Century", in *Radical History Review*, 121 (2015): 123–144.

Clarice Bland is a PhD student in History at University College Dublin. Her research focuses on nineteenth-century women and the intersection of class and cultural history. She completed her Master's in European and Nordic Studies at the University of Helsinki, where she researched working-class women and the Spiritualist movement in England.

Janne Salminen is a doctoral student at the University of Helsinki. He is currently writing his dissertation on the gender narratives of serialised blockbuster films. While most of his research revolves around gender, his other interests include diversity, popular culture, queer narratives, US politics, technology, and fandom. He is also an avid runner and a non-practicing vegan.

Henri Hyvönen is a doctoral candidate in Gender Studies at the University of Helsinki, Finland. He currently works in the Social and Economic Sustainability of Future Working Life (WeAll) Consortium funded by the Academy of Finland (Strategic Research Council). His research interests encompass theoretical and empirical examinations of men and masculinity, men's bodies, men's health, gender performances of men in working life, and media representations of men. At present, he is working on his doctoral dissertation on the norms and practices of men's work-related self-care in Finnish society. He is also a board member of The Finnish Association of Men's Studies.

Ingrid Biese is a postdoctoral researcher at the Swedish School of Social Science at the University of Helsinki. Her primary area of research is 'opting out' and sustainable working cultures and career models. Other areas of interest include globalisation, individualisation, identity and gender. She blogs about her research on theoptingoutblog.com

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-015

Cathy Leogrande is a Professor in the Teacher Education Department of the Purcell School of Professional Studies at Le Moyne College, a Jesuit college in Syracuse, New York. Her teaching and research focus on all aspects of preparing effective teachers by exploring issues of race, class, gender, and disability in order to better meet the needs of diverse student populations and changing curricular demands. Her previous publications include the power of story and media literacy to deconstruct inequity embedded in popular culture texts. She explores and examines all areas of new literacies, including digital texts, comics and graphic novels, fandoms, sports, young adult literature, film, videogames and more to provide K-12 teachers the creative skills to teach content to all students in inclusive classrooms.

Gilad Reich is an independent curator, writer and PhD candidate in the Department of Art History, Tel Aviv University. He holds a BA in History from Tel Aviv University and an MA in Cultural Analysis from Amsterdam University. His academic research explores 'The Refusal of Work' as a theoretical framework and practice in art since the 1960s. His curatorial projects are a critical exploration of notions of subjectivity and gender under precarity, examining new and un-hegemonic forms of life. He teaches art theory and curatorial practices in several institutes and writes regularly in catalogues and various cultural platforms. His projects have been exhibited at the Stedelijk Museum and de Appel (Amsterdam), Matadero Art Center (Madrid), Apexart (New York), The Center for Digital art, Artport and the Herzliya Museum of Art (Israel), among others.

Marta Choroszewicz is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Eastern Finland. Her research has broadly investigated social inequalities in the professions. She is currently working on a project titled 'Data-Driven Society in the Making', which focuses on the use of digital data and learning algorithms in healthcare and social services in Finland. In this project, Marta focuses on the data-driven welfare state, algorithmic decision-making, public-private partnership and the mechanism of inequalities related to technology development and deployment. Her work has been published in: *Human Relations*, *Sosiologia*, *International Journal of the Legal Profession*, *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, and *Professions and Professionalism*. She published, in collaboration with Tracey L Adams, an edited book titled, *Gender, Age and Inequality in the Professions* (Routledge 2019).

José Hildo de Oliveira Filho studied Social Sciences at UFAM (Federal University of Amazonas) between 2006 and 2012. During his undergraduate studies, he undertook mobility periods at the University of Porto (UP), Portugal, as an Erasmus Mundus scholarship holder (2009–2010) and at UFRN (Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte), in 2011, through a Brazilian Mobility Programme (PROMES). With the support of the Swedish Institute Scholarships he became a Master's student at Lund University (2013–2016). During his Master's studies, he benefitted from an exchange period at Utrecht University. He is currently a PhD candidate in Sociology at the Faculty of Social Sciences – Charles University in Prague (CUNI). His current project focuses on under-researched aspects of sports migration in Central and Eastern Europe and aims at increasing understanding of macro and micro social processes enmeshed in Brazilian footballers and futsal players movement to the Central and Eastern European regions. He is currently a CAPES scholarship holder.

Joanna Elfving-Hwang (PhD, The University of Sheffield, UK) is an Associate Professor of Korean Studies at the University of Western Australia, Perth. Her work focuses on Korean beauty cultures, ageing, gender, and popular culture in South Korea. Her recent publications include 'K-pop Idols, Artificial Beauty and Affective Fan Relationships in South Korea', in *Handbook of Celebrity Studies*, ed. Anthony Elliot (2018), 'Media, Cosmetic Surgery and Aspirational Beauty Aesthetics of the Ageing Body in South Korea' in *Asian Studies Review* (2020), and 'Man Made Beautiful: Social Meanings Attached to Everyday Grooming and Beauty Practices by Middle Aged South Korean Men', in *Men and Masculinities* (2020). She is currently completing on a monograph tentatively titled *Beauty, the Body and Cosmetic Surgery in Korea*.

Cassie DeFillipo recently completed her PhD in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne. Her research analyses men's constructions of manhood through sexual decision-making within the backdrop of Northern Thailand. She has a Master's degree in International Development from Clark University, where she conducted a gendered analysis of militarised cattle camp communities in South Sudan. She has a wide range of experiences working in the development sector, specifically in the fields of education, migration, human rights, peace, and gender, in a number of settings, including India, Haiti, Ghana, and Switzerland.

Ulla Ijäs (Dr. Phil.) is Docent of Finnish history and a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Turku. Currently, she is working in the project 'Agents of Enlightenment. Changing the Minds in Eighteenth-Century Northern Europe'. Her research interests are urban elites, material culture, gender history and economic and social history prior to the Industrial Revolution. In her latest research articles, she has focused on the urban elite family strategies in 'German families and their family strategies. Marriage and education in the eighteenth- and the nineteenth-century provincial towns in the northern Baltic'; in Ulla Aatsinki, Johanna Annola and Mervi Kaarninen (eds.), *Families, Values, and the Transfer of Knowledge in Northern Societies, 1500–2000* (Routledge 2018) and female entrepreneurship in 'Marie Hackman – The female manager in the family firm Hackman & Co'; in Jarna Heinonen and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (eds.). *Women in Business Families: From Past to Present, Gender in Business Families* (Routledge 2018).

Tristan Bridges is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, USA. His research is primarily concerned with contemporary transformations in masculinity and gender and sexual inequality. He co-theorised "hybrid masculinities" as a framework for helping assess the meanings associated with transformations in contemporary performances of masculinities. Tristan has studied bodybuilders, fathers' rights activists, a group of bar regulars, US couples with "man caves" in their homes and is also interested in demographic shifts in gender and sexual identifications and fluidity. He also co-edits the international, interdisciplinary journal, *Men and Masculinities*. Tristan teaches on theories of gender, sexuality, and change and lives in Goleta, California with his family.

Catherine J. Taylor is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her main research and teaching areas are gender, work and occupations, social psychology, health, and methods. Before joining the faculty at UCSB, Professor Taylor earned her PhD in Sociology at Cornell University, was a Robert Wood Johnson Health & Society

Scholar at Columbia University, and was a faculty member at Indiana University. Her work has been published in leading sociological and interdisciplinary journals including *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Science & Medicine*, and *Gender & Society*. She also delivers training and talks to help organisations increase their diversity in hiring and retention.

Sekani Robinson is a PhD graduate student of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, USA. Her research interests involve race, class, gender, work, culture and embodiment. Her current research addresses how Black women perform emotional, aesthetic, and racialised labor within major ballet companies. Her thesis was awarded the Barbara Brown Paper Award for the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport. Sekani currently works with a non-profit organisation called 'Brown Girls Do Ballet' and also works for America Ballet Theatre's summer intensive in Orange County, California. Sekani also mentors' young ballet dancers and college students and lives in Los Angeles, California.

Jeff Hearn is Senior Professor in Gender Studies at Örebro University, Sweden; Professor of Sociology, University of Huddersfield, UK; Professor Emeritus, Hanken School of Economics, Finland; Professor Extraordinarius, University of South Africa, and an honorary doctor in Social Sciences, Lund University, Sweden. He became interested in problematising the concept of career in the mid-1970s. Recent books include *Men of the World*, (2015 Sage); *Men's Stories for a Change*, co-author, (Common Ground 2016); *Revenge Pornography*, with Matthew Hall, (Routledge 2017); *Engaging Youth in Activism, Research and Pedagogical Praxis*, co-editor, (Routledge 2018); *Unsustainable Institutions of Men*, co-editor, (Routledge 2019). He is currently completing the book *'Age' at 'Work',* with Wendy Parkin, for Sage.

Index

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110651874-016